National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 46. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1866. WHOLE NO. 1,346.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,
AT $3.00 PER ANNUM,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York

☞ ALL LETTERS on Business, or for Publication, should be addressed to PARKER PILLSBURY, *Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman st., New York.

CLUB RATES.—Ten copies to one address, $2.50 each; twenty copies, $2 each.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

ROBERT J. JOHNSTON, PRINTER,
No. 33 BEEKMAN STREET, N. Y.

Selections.

MEMORIAL.

[The following is the substance of a Memorial to Congress from the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League, a large organization of the colored people of that State. It is certainly a very superior paper, as has every one been in the present struggle emanating from this class of our population, and offered to any public body or officer. It has been presented to both Houses of Congress, and was most honorably treated in the hands of Mr. Sumner. It is to be hoped the world will not long be astonished by the spectacle of men like the authors of this and kindred documents, suing in a Democracy for right of suffrage and citizenship.]

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

GENTLEMEN: We come before you the accredited representatives of a powerful organization known as the "Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League," an auxiliary to the "National Equal Rights League," formed expressly to aid in the great work of enfranchisement. This league is the most perfect and effective organized movement ever established in this country among the colored people, and while it originated with our own people—is ruled and controlled by them, yet no one is excluded from all its benefits because of his complexion. In Pennsylvania its branches extend through some fifty counties, and embrace the intelligence, moral worth, patriotism and pecuniary wealth of the colored population; and it stands pledged to leave no means untried to regain those rights of which we, citizens of the United States and citizens of Pennsylvania, have been so cruelly and unjustifiably deprived.

We are duly commissioned to present ourselves before your Honorable Body that holds so important a position in the councils of the nation at this juncture of affairs; and we beg you to lend us your undivided attention, your calm and honest judgment, and the warm and manly feelings of your hearts, whilst we present our petitions and earnestly entreat you favorably to answer our prayers.

What we desire at your hands, gentlemen, is simply JUSTICE. We wish to be secure in our persons wherever we may go throughout this Union; we wish to be allowed to travel unmolested in railroad cars, in steamboats and by all other modes of public conveyance, and we wish to be politically and legally equal with our white fellow-citizens.

We believe that none of you in these days of intellectual light, deny that we are men, or that because of the color of our skins we are not a part of the *American* people. Then starting out with this premise—we ask you, in whose hands is entrusted the most important duty which has yet devolved on any set of men since the organization of the Government, namely, that of *reconstructing the National Fabric*, rent and torn by the hellish demon, slavery, and its hand-maidens, prejudice and oppression—to see to it that this Government is rebuilt on the eternal foundation of rectitude, and that all the rights, immunities and privileges belonging to men born on *American soil*, obedient to American law, and subject to the taxation which goes to support the American Government, are guaranteed to us, who have fulfilled these conditions. We ask that we be counted in, and completely recognized as an integral part of the American people in every State in this Union.

We stand before you with the Constitution of the United States in our hands, and ask you to vindicate it from the falsehoods so long stamped upon it by the perfidious tyrants who ruled the nation with the determination to effect and complete its final ruin:—to vindicate it from the assertions of the slave-masters who have branded it as a self-evident *lie*, promising life, liberty and happiness to all, whilst it enslaved and made unhappy one-seventh of the community; to vindicate yourselves and the Executive in the solemn oaths which you have taken to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," and faithfully administer its every provision.

This Constitution guarantees to every State a republican form of government, and we quote the forcible expression couched therein, which admits of no doubtful interpretation, but is positive and unqualified:

> Art. 4, Sec. 4. "The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government."

Thus, gentlemen, you will perceive that this is not optional, but that it is a duty expressly enjoined—a command positively to be enforced. The word *shall* is used, not *will* or *may*, and you cannot, even if so disposed (and may God forgive the doubt implied), as honest men, faithful to the great Charter of American rights, avoid carrying out this provision to the letter. And right here we meet you face to face and respectfully submit to you the question, calling on God and civilization to decide between us: Does such a form of government as now exists in this country, disfranchising nearly one-seventh of its male population, comport with the true idea of a republican government? Do we, the representatives of the disfranchised of this country and especially of Pennsylvania, enjoy the blessings of a republican government?

We revere the Constitution of our country, we have obeyed the laws of the land, we have paid our taxes without a murmur, and yielded our bodies—willing sacrifices whenever peril dawned upon the nation.

To us in Pennsylvania, this deprivation of our rights is particularly cruel, and our sufferings from it are keenly sore. Prior to the year 1838 we voted without any distinctive qualification, and went side by side to the polls with our white fellow-citizens to deposit the ballot—that palladium of American citizenship. Our fathers and brothers tasted this inestimable blessing, and enjoyed this right which the sacred Constitution of the United States guarantees to every State in this Union.

We have been disfranchised twenty-eight years, and suffered all the insults and outrage consequent upon it—which legitimately flow from an act disfranchising us, and determining our rights by the texture of our hair, and our citizenship by the color of our skin.

The party guilty of this base act of cowardice, expressly at variance with the Constitution of the United States, did it for the purpose of obtaining power, and how have they used the power thus obtained? They have struck with parricidal hands at the nation's palpitating heart, just as they struck down us, its sable sons;—and to this act, establishing a precedent, we invite your attention. They disfranchised us to obtain power, and established an oligarchy founded on color.

We come here asking nothing but rights; favors are not in the category. It is rights founded upon truth and law that we desire, as against color, which is a simple accident. Hate us as you will, turn from us at your pleasure—this you may claim a perfect right to do; but in the name of God, we ask you not to allow us to be robbed of the price of our blood, our sufferings, and that which is ours by birth-right and taxation. On the Constitution of our Common Country we stand, and in its name demand justice. And how else can it be given us? How can a perfect Union be established? How can domestic tranquillity be ensured, unless you in your official capacity adopt such measures as will make all men politically and legally equal.

We ask that there be incorporated in the Constitution an article which will prevent any legislation in the United States and Territories against any portion of the civilized inhabitants on account of race or color; and we ask further, that all such legislation as now exists disfranchising us on that account, be declared *void*, because of its unconstitutionality—being anti-republican in character. The Constitution guarantees this, and we feel sure that in the crimes which have brought God's vengeance on this nation, there are none more conspicuously prominent than the facility with which men in high places have violated their sacred oaths whenever the rights of the Negro are in question; for whoever denies us the benefits this Sacred Document confers on us in common with other men, strikes at the Document itself, the principles it inculcates and demands, and at the nation's life.

In Pennsylvania—a State boasting of its freedom, refinement and Christianity—where there are churches in which the Word of God is professedly broad-cast for the benefit of all men—where we might expect an influence strong in behalf of the right—all these evils above mentioned are felt and seen, and we are ground to the earth beneath them. This being the case there, gentlemen, how must these crimes and evils against humanity be magnified in the late rebellious States where the plots to overthrow the Government would, in all probability, have proved successful had it not been for the assistance rendered by the Negro; and how must the hatred for him be increased in those States.

Will you, to whom we have given our money in taxes, our lives in battle, to maintain the supremacy of law against secession and anarchy, continue to deprive us of this dearly purchased right to the ballot which is the only means by which we can protect ourselves in times of peace? Will you confer all rights civil and political, on rebels and traitors whose hands are yet red with the blood of your murdered relatives, and abandon us your faithful allies to their vindictive hatred and vengeance? No, God grant that you will not allow this course of wrong, so long practised and resulting in such calamities, to continue.

The right to vote for our law-makers is surely a constitutional one, and was once enjoyed by our forefathers in nearly every State in the Union, producing no mischief. The idea of such a fundamental right, which distinguishes America from all other countries, being considered dangerous and likely to produce a war of races, was unknown to the noble men who framed the Constitution on the principle of true democracy, and they certainly ere as intelligent as the Solons of these days.

Why—it was the converse of this for which our fathers went into a war of seven years' duration, and it is only the success of this very principle, equality at the ballot-box and its promulgation to the world, which makes this Republic a terror to Kingly tyrants; and we trust its enlargement, so as to include in fact all embraced in the theory, may cause the Sham Democracy that raised this cry, disproved by every fact in man's history, to hide their diminished heads.

They would wear a crown did they not fear a cross. They would barter, trade and speculate in men as readily as they do in their own principles.

Depriving us of the ballot, this safeguard, indispensable for the protection, prosperity and happiness of the citizen, and levelling to the earth his rights and claims, engenders resentment, and must produce in the future just what they have produced in the past—a war—waged on one side by the lovers of right and law, and on the other by tyrants and their abettors. With disfranchisement come hate and contempt, and of consequence, outrage and injury follow in their train, as has been so fully demonstrated in the history of the last four years.

Therefore, in order to avoid a conflict whether of races or of ideas, for principles or against oppression, do unto others that strict and even-handed justice which you demand for yourselves, and for which you would freely die. Our relations to society and to government are the same as other men. Therefore all the rights absolute and relative which are conferred on other men, whether from acquired allegiance or legislation, are ours also.

We are American citizens, and since we are compelled to support the Government with both money and life, protection and equal right to the ballot and the law are due to us. This is the position we take, and on this principle of allegiance and protection, which must be mutual, we approach you and invoke you to so frame the law that we and our posterity may, unquestioned, enjoy equally its benefits.

It has been said that if the right to vote is granted to us, the former master of the freedmen would enjoy a permanent benefit therefrom. Who believes it? Do you, as intelligen tmen, for one moment, attach any importance to this hollow subterfuge? If this were the fact, how long would it be before each State now under rebel sway would rejoice in Negro enfranchisement, and the Executive mansion would be literally besieged by those very men who have sought to destroy all that was near and dear to you, entreating for the extension of this right to their faithful and loving slaves of bygone days. This assertion was used as an argument by the same class of men, to prevent the employment of colored troops; and how did they fight in defense of their masters? Go to Port Hudson and count the slaughtered of our race and bid them tell you if they, whose arms are now palsied in death, ever drew a sword, sped a bullet or thrust a bayonet at the nation's life. Call back the spirits of the murdered heroes of Milliken's Bend, Olustee and Fort Wagner and the affirmation that they went to the presence of their God in defence of liberty, equality, the Constitution and the Union, and perfect enfranchisement of their race, will challenge a denial. Did they leave their mortal tenements all shrouded in perjury and crime in obedience to a master's will, to sustain the dark dungeon of slavery, chains, and perpetual degradation? Oh, no. This fallacy is weaker than diluted water, and is the device of cowards who fear lest justice should be done and the Black man untrammeled in the race of life may prove an equal competitor.

The blood of the Negro martyrs, who fell by the hands of assassins whose deeds have given to Fort Pillow an immortality of infamy, cries to God for justice, in tones as loud and shrill as those of the sainted martyr who fell into the cold embrace of death here in our own Capital. These true martyrs did not linger until driven by popular clamor, and forced by conscription into the ranks, where life and death held their frightful carnival, but volunteered eagerly to defend that old flag whose broad stripes so fitly emblemized their courage, pure intentions and true loyalty.

They asked as a privilege to fight for this Constitution, which guarantees them every right and immunity which is enjoyed by yourselves.

It is said that we are too ignorant to vote, and this in the face of the fact that against us is closed the store-house of knowledge, in most places throughout the South, by legal enactment. Grant that we are ignorant and then tell us what worse use we could possibly have made of this freeman's right than has been made by the leading men of this Nation, who turned traitors and perjurers in order to save an institution at variance with every principle of right, founded on falsehood, reared and sustained in crime.

There can be no ignorance so intense as that which attempts to drive out of the human heart that light shed by our Divine Author which renders every child of His creation conscious of his right to liberty and equality with his brother.

Gentlemen, the voice of God invites you to do justice to the brave black men, who have so nobly proven their fitness to exercise the franchise which is so necessary to protect not only themselves, but all who in the late rebel States dare assert their love for the Union—so necessary to put in office men who have stood up for the flag through the hottest and thickest of the fight. Do justice to the memory of the dead, justice to the survivors, justice to the deeply injured race, and justice to the Constitution which the Fathers of the Republic steadily refused to disgrace by incorporating into it the word *white*, or any other distinctive feature which would deprive any portion of civilized humanity of finding protection under its broad and ample ægis.

You must purposely seal your eyes and ossify your hearts, ere you can give the ballot to these men who have trampled our flag in the dust, laughed the Constitution to scorn, defied the enforcement of its provisions, and starved, maimed, whipped, poisoned and with *pistol* and *dirk* assassinated its ministers and defenders.

Will you give the ballot to them, who have failed with the sword, the weapon of their choice, and thus furnish them with the means of wreaking a terrible vengeance at the polls for their signal failure on the field? Can it be that *you* will do this—*you* who are chosen to revise and improve the code of laws by which, in all human probability, this nation is to be governed throughout all coming time? Can you withhold our rights from us, after calm reflection, a thorough knowledge of circumstances, proofs in plenitude, arguments incontrovertible from the purest and brightest minds in the nation? This would be an act of injustice to us, whose record of faithfulness is cotemporary with all that is great and good in the nation.

When did you call upon us for aid and we refused to be with you? Was it back in the forenoon of the nation's history when almost too young to stand alone—when the nation was tottering, though bold in youthful courage? When, though puny her arm, she grasped the mane of Albion's Lion, and held him trembling at bay? It was not then, for we have the record of one brave man who, with nineteen others, in the year 1781 lay eight months a prisoner enduring the tortures of starvation and the weight of chains, on the old Jersey Prison Ship which was so truthfully denominated "a floating hell." It was not at Bunker Hill, or Lexington, or Concord, or Germantown, or Red Bank, nor amid the horrors of Valley Forge. We were with Jackson at New Orleans and Decatur at Tripoli—neither did we desert you at Charleston, Petersburg or Richmond. How can you then, refuse to grant his request, when the black man stands before you in patient solicitude, demanding justice—his bosom uncovered, his eyes turned to God, to whom in his last extremity, he makes his appeal, solemnized by the suffering and injuries of more than two centuries—in his hands are the Constitution of the United States and the record of his faithfulness thereto—and wrapped around him is the ensign of his country, for which he fought when it bore but thirteen stars, and for which he is ready to die, now that thirty-six stars beautify its brilliant field.

How can you refuse to render unto this modern Cæsar the things which are his?

We ask you to give us the right to vote untrammeled and unqualified; for in any other way it is contrary to the genius of Republican institutions. What Section or Article of the Constitution demands an intellectual qualification in order to vote?—or can you, anywhere within it, perceive the breathing of such a spirit? Voting is educational and makes it own qualifications; then do not subject us to a test which is not applied to any other class in the community.

You are extending the full enjoyment of this right to men in whom you have no more confidence or trust than you have in the hungry and ferocious tiger, as proved by the oaths you exact, and the presence of a standing army which it is known to be unsafe to disband; whilst you withhold its blessings from us whom neither slavery with its many tortures, nor cold blooded murder on the battle-field in forms unknown to white men, could drive from our integrity, our love of country and the homes of our countless sorrows.

The great Abolition act of the State of Pennsylvania, 1780, deliberately says "that it was not for them to inquire why in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by difference of feature or complexion," and declares "that all persons of every nation and color shall be deemed, adjudged and holden to be free men and women." And the Constitution of 1790, adopting the same phraseology, says, "every freeman having a residence and paying taxes, shall be an elector."

Are we not free men? Do we not pay taxes? Thomas Jefferson, the father of Democracy, lays it down as a principle that he who fights and he who pays taxes should vote. Then, as we fulfil all these conditions, we are electors—as we have fought and will continue to do so in our country's defense, and as we have paid taxes and are still paying them. Our money is as readily accepted by the tax-collector as that of the fairest skinned white man, and our blood has dyed the green sward with crimson as red as his.

Therefore, it follows, as an indisputable corollary, that we should vote. The Supreme Court has acknowledged us citizens of the United States, and therefore, we are guaranteed our State citizenship by Sect. 2, Art. 4, Federal Constitution.

Your memorialists appeal to history in order to establish the proposition that free colored persons were citizens of the Union prior to the year 1789, and as they were not declared to be otherwise, by the Constitution then adopted, they are citizens still. We were citizens by the laws of 1783, and in the Journals of Congress we are furnished with the opinions of Congress on this subject in terms clear and explicit.

"It was resolved by all the States except two; one of which was divided—that all charges of war, and all expenditure that had been or that shall be incurred for common defense and general welfare, shall be defrayed out of the common treasury which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the whole number of white and other citizens, and the inhabitants of every age, sex and condition."

If this will not convince gentlemen that negroes and mulattoes were from early times considered citizens and a part of the people who chose the delegates to frame the Constitution, it is vain for us to urge the matter further. (Extract from Speech of Hon. Joseph Hemphill, of Pa., delivered in Congress, Dec. 11, 1820, on the Missouri question.)

Your memorialists learn from high authority that it is deemed inexpedient to enfranchise our people. Expediency is a pillar on which oppressors and tyrants always lean. It is the vanguard in the army of iniquitous measures and practices—it supports every public wrong, and is used as an argument against right.

Do not, we beg you, gentlemen, claim its unworthy aid, for you stand in no niche where your acts may find obscurity; but you occupy a pedestal to which generations unborn will gaze to bless or curse you.

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide." Will you so decide as to write the name of America in the fadeless hues of eternal fame? Will you seize this golden opportunity and plant the stars and stripes so high on the roll of grateful remembrance, that, brilliant in rectitude they may shine in enduring light brighter and purer than nature's glorious sun, and continue to wave over an asylum for the oppressed of all lands, rejecting no child of the human family, but blessing all and extending to all that freedom which God the Father has intended to make his humble creatures satified and happy, until time, grown old, wrinkled and weary, shall sleep in the arms of eternity.

To the calm and unbiased consideration of this prayer your memorialists invite you, the spirits of your Revolutionary sires invite you; and may the spirit of true Christianity, patriotism and honor inspire you, and may God Almighty lead you to the performance of that *simple justice* for which
Your Memorialists will ever pray.

WILLIAM NESBIT,
JOSEPH C. BUSTILL,
WILLIAM D. FORTEN.

On behalf of the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights League.
February 20th, 1866.

SOUTHERN QUAKERS.

From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.

THERE arrived at Washington on Wednesday last, 14 inst., under the care of the Bureau of Refugees, seventy members of the Society of Friends, from Randolph County, North Carolina, *en route* to settle in Indiana. One hundred and fifty more are soon to follow. These Quakers state that owing to their persistant persecutions, they have been compelled to migrate from the old North State, and seek homes elsewhere. This circumstance certainly does not afford very comforting assurance to those who maintain that the recovered States are thoroughly loyal and should at once be restored to their ante-war footing; and yet we can understand how those lately in rebellion should cherish an especial hostility toward George Fox's followers. When the revolution was inaugurated, they took strong grounds against it, and all through the war remained unalterably loyal to the Government. Of the six thousand Quakers in Virginia and three thousand in North Carolina, there were few if any who did not remain true to the flag when the strife was raging all around them, and boldly asserted their anti-slavery sentiments. Wherever a settlement of them existed there was to be found an oasis in the desert of rebellion. One such, many of the Potomac soldiers will recall, which the army found in Loudon County on its march down through Virginia from Fredericksburg, in the Fall of 1862. With bright countenances they welcomed the Union braves, and hastened to spread before them food and drink, while the latter in turn religiously refrained from appropriating anything belonging to them. Having Stuart's Maryland raid fresh in memory, and unmindful of Gen. McClellan's orders against "jayhawking," our soldiers cut a broad swath through the "sunny South," from the Potomac to the Rappahannock, but were very careful to turn aside in their march of ruin from the Quaker colony on the Leesburg turnpike. This favoritism manifested by us in Virginia and elsewhere toward the Friends excited the ire of their rebellious neighbors, who straightway began a series of persecutions against them, which, as we see in the case of these Randolph County refugees, have not yet ceased. In several of the Southern State Legislatures attempts were made to force them into the ranks of the army nothwithstanding their religious creed prevented them from bearing arms. These, efforts, however, proved unavailing, and at no time were the Friends compelled to fight against the Government, though in many instances being obliged to give up their stock and harvest to the Confederate quartermaster's.

A LOOK AT BOTH SIDES.

[Translated for THE STANDARD.]

[The German *Pioneir* thus contrasts the probable succession of events to flow from the present crisis, accordingly as Congress and loyalty, or the President and treason, shall be victorious.]

RESULTS OF A CONGRESSIONAL TRIUMPH.

1st. MAINTENANCE of the democratic principle, that the Executive power is subordinate to the Legislative.

2d. Suppression of the spirit of Rebellion, destruction of the Slaveholders' oligarchy, and establishment of loyal rule in the South.

3d. Thereby security of permanence to the Union.

4th. An immediate or early recognition of the equality of man before the law, and hence the prevention of oppression as well as of a war of races.

5th. Displacement of the State-rights' idea by that of national unity.

6th. Establishment of internal harmony and of the national credit.

7th. A regenerating immigration to the South, an unchecked development of the national resources, and a general stimulation of material and moral progress.

8th. Availability of the entire national force on the exterior, maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, immense progressive influence in Europe, and subvention of democratic tendencies on both continents.

RESULTS OF A PRESIDENTIAL TRIUMPH.

1st. Decided preponderance of the Executive power, paralyzing defeat of democracy, approaches toward monarchical institutions.

2d. Exultant triumph of rebeldom, reinstatement of the Southern oligarchy, ostracism or destruction of all loyal men below Mason and Dixon's Line, renewed rule of slavery.

3d. Renewed dissension in the Union, and the preparation of another civil war.

4th. Rehabilitation of slavery and a repetition of the horrors of St. Domingo and Jamaica.

5th. Determined assertion of the State sovereignty principle, as a basis for another attempt at secession.

6th. General ruin, assumption of the Rebel Debt and repudiation of the National, depreciation of public securities, and national bankruptcy.

7th. Consummation of foreign aggressions, utter extinction of the Monroe Doctrine, triumph of Imperialism in Mexico, intervention of European powers in our new civil war, and the disruption or annihilation of the Republic.

These are the prospects on either hand. To all who possess treasonable talents and inclinations, an ample opportunity is here offered to put them into practice, not only by *supporting* Johnson, the arch-traitor, *but even by omitting to devote all energies to dethroning him.* Congress comes sitting on the wings of the future; the President drags at the heels of the past: at the Capitol rally the people; about the White House gathers the mob—which shall conquer?

PRESIDENTIAL PROGRESS.

From the Washington Chronicle.

WE give the following extracts from his speech of acceptance of the Republican nomination for Vice-President, under which he was elected, and by which he is bound as President of the United States. In this full, formal, hearty and noble language we read the death warrant of his whole present programme of retrogression. His denunciation of Senators as traitors; his open consultation with disloyal politicians; his plea for the admission of doubtful men into Congress; and above all, his demand that the rebel States shall be instantly rehabilitated, are here so overwhelmingly put to shame, that we stand amazed at the spirit which has forgotten or disregarded pledges so distinct and principles so sacred. He says:

"The question is, whether man is capable of self-government? I hold with Jefferson that government was made for the convenience of man, and not man for government. The laws and constitutions were designed as instruments to promote his welfare. And hence, from this principle, I conclude that government can and ought to be changed and amended to conform to the wants, to the requirements and progress of the people, and the enlightened spirit of the age. (Loud applause.) Now, if any of your secessionists have lost faith in men's capability for self-government, and feel unfit for the exercise of this great right, go straight to rebeldom, take Jeff. Davis, Beauregard, and Bragg for your masters, and put their collars on your necks.

"And let me say that now is the time to secure these fundamental principles, while the land is rent with anarchy and upheaves with the throes of a mighty revolution. While society is in this disordered state, and we are seeking security, let us fix the foundations of the Government on principles of eternal justice which will endure for all time. There is an element in our midst who are for perpetuating the institution of slavery. Let me say to you, Tennesseeans and men from the Northern States, that slavery is dead. It was not murdered by me. I told you long ago what the result would be if you endeavored to go out of the Union to save slavery; and that the result would be bloodshed, rapine, devastated fields, plundered villages and cities, and therefore I urged you to remain in the Union. In trying to save slavery you killed it, and lost your own freedom. Your slavery is dead, but I did not murder it. As Macbeth said to Banquo's bloody ghost:

> "'Never shake thy gory locks at me;
> Thou canst not say I did it.'

"Slavery is dead, and you must pardon me if I do not mourn over its dead body; you can bury it out of sight. In restoring the State, leave out that disturbing and dangerous element, and use only those parts of the machinery which will move in harmony.

"But in calling a Convention to restore the State, who shall restore and re-establish it? Shall the man who gave his influence and his means to destroy the Government? Is he to participate in the great work of Reorganization? Shall he who brought this misery upon the State be permitted to control its destinies? If this be so, then all this precious blood of our brave soldiers and officers so freely poured out will have been wantonly spilled. All the glorious victories won by our noble armies will go for naught, and all the battle-fields which have been sown with dead heroes during the rebellion will have been made memorable in vain.

"Why all this carnage and devastation? It was that treason might be put down and traitors punished. Therefore I say that traitors should take a back seat in the work of restoration. If there be but five thousand men in Tennessee loyal to the Constitution, loyal to freedom, loyal to justice, these true and faithful men should control the work of reorganization and reformation absolutely. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I say that the traitor has ceased to be a citizen, and in joining the rebellion has become a public enemy. He forfeited his right to vote with loyal men when he renounced his citizenship and sought to destroy our Government. We say to the most honest and industrious foreigner who comes from England or Germany to dwell among us, and to add to the wealth of the country, 'Before you can be a citizen, you must stay here for five years.' If we are so cautious about foreigners, who voluntarily renounce their homes to live with us, what should we say to the traitor who, although born and reared among us, has raised a parricidal hand against the Government which has always protected him? My judgment is that he should be subjected to a severe ordeal before he is restored to citizenship. A fellow who takes the oath merely to save his property, and denies the validity of the oath, is a perjured man, and not to be trusted. Before these repenting rebels can be trusted, let them bring forth the fruits of repentance. He who helped to make all these widows and orphans, who draped the streets of Nashville in mourning, should suffer for his great crime. The work is in our hands. We can destroy this rebellion. With Grant thundering on the Potomac before Richmond, and Sherman and Thomas on their march toward Atlanta, the day will ere long be ours. Will any madly persist in rebellion? Suppose that an equal number be slain in every battle, it is plain that the result must be the utter extermination of the rebels. Ah! these rebel leaders have a strong personal reason for holding out to save their necks from the halter; and these leaders must feel the power of the Government!

"Treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished and impoverished. Their great plantations must be seized, and divided into small farms, and sold to honest, industrious men. The day for protecting the lands and negroes of these authors of rebellion is past. It is high time it was. I have been most deeply pained at some things which have come under my observation. We get men in command who, under the influence of flattery, fawning and caressing, grant protection to the rich traitor, while the poor Union man stands out in the cold, often unable to get a receipt or a voucher for his losses. (Cries of 'That's so!' from all parts of the crowd.) The traitor can get lucrative contracts, while the loyal man is pushed aside, unable to obtain a recognition of his just stripes and shoulder-straps. I want them all to hear what I say. I have been on a gridiron for two years at the sight of these abuses. I blame not the Government for these things which are the work of weak or faithless subordinates. Wrongs will be committed under every form of government and under every administration. For myself, I mean to stand by the Government till the flag of the Union shall wave over every city, town, hill-top, and cross roads, in its full power and majesty."

CONGRESS.

[The important event of Thursday was the passage by the Senate of the Civil Rights Bill, it having on Tuesday before passed the House by a large majority. Its substance was in our Congressional record last week.]

ON Friday, Mr. Wade, in the Senate, presented a petition for equal rights and the abolition of all distinctions on account of color, by Constitutional amendment, which was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction.

Mr. Sumner presented the petition of twenty thousand dress-makers of New York and Brooklyn, praying that the internal revenue tax on their business might be taken off. They set forth the peculiar hardships that this tax imposes on them, and claim that if it is not removed they will have to abandon their pursuit, or go into the arms of the sheriff; taxation again without representation.

A JOINT RESOLUTION ON RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. Stewart, of Nevada, introduced the following joint resolution which was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction:

Whereas, In the present distracted condition of the country it is eminently proper and necessary that all just and constitutional means should be employed for the quieting of popular excitement, the removal of unreasonable prejudice and the obliteration of all hostile feelings growing out of the late unhappy civil war;

And whereas, One of the most prolific sources of unfriendly sentiment is the conflict of opinion existing on the subject of negro suffrage;

And whereas, It is now most evident that there is no probability whatever that the Senators and Representatives in Congress, from the States whose people were lately in insurrection, will be allowed to occupy the seats to which they have been elected, until such States shall have complied with certain fundamental conditions, a portion of which are hereinafter recited;

And whereas, It is unreasonable to expect the re-establishment of harmony and good feeling as long as the eleven Southern States, whose people were recently in insurrection, are prevented from resuming their ancient relations to this Government; therefore, be it

Resolved, etc.—1. That each of said States whose people were lately in insurrection as aforesaid, shall be recognized as having fully and validly resumed its former relations with this Government, and its chosen representatives shall be admitted in the two Houses of the National Legislature, whenever said State shall have so amended its Constitution as to do away with all existing distinctions as to civil rights and disabilities among the various classes of its population by reason either of race or color, or previous condition of servitude.

2. To repudiate all pecuniary indebtedness which said State may have heretofore contracted, incurred or assumed with the late unnatural and treasonable war.

3. To yield all claim to compensation on account of the liberation of its slaves; and

4. To provide for the extension of the elective franchise to all persons upon the same terms and conditions, making no discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, provided that those who were qualified to vote in the year 1860, by the laws of their respective States, shall not be disfranchised by reason of any new test or conditions which have been or may be prescribed since that year.

Resolved, That after the aforesaid conditions have been complied with and the same shall have been ratified by a majority of the present voting population of the State, including all those qualified to vote under the laws thereof as they existed in 1860, a general amnesty shall be proclaimed in regard to all persons in such State who were in any way connected with armed opposition to the Government of the United States, wholly exonerating them from all pains, penalties or disabilities to which they may have become liable by reason of connection with the rebellion.

Resolved, That in view of the thorough assimilation of the basis of suffrage in the various States of the Union, all other States, not above specified, shall be respectfully requested to incorporate an amendment in their State constitutions respectively corresponding with the one specified.

Resolved, That in the adoption of the aforesaid resolutions it is not intended to assert a coercive power on the part of Congress in regard to the regulation of the right of suffrage in the different States of the Union, but only to make a respectful and earnest appeal to their own good sense and love of country, with a view to the prevention of serious evils now threatened and to the peaceful reputation of the repose, the happiness and true glory of the whole American people.

Mr. Stewart, in offering the above, made a brief explanation. He said he had been a careful observer of the current of events since Congress assembled, and he had come to the conclusion that the proposition he had submitted corresponds with the prevailing sentiment in Congress, and also in the country, as indicated in the public press. He offered this without expressing any opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of negro suffrage, which he had studiously avoided on all occasions here.

[To what all this amounts, perhaps can be best learned by the special dispatches. To the N. Y. *Tribune* came this:]

Mr. Stewart of Nevada startled the Senate today by the introduction of a resolution demanding universal suffrage in return for universal amnesty. Mr. Sumner rose and welcomed the new convert with open arms. *The well-known relations of the Nevada Senator to the President give especial significance to his proposition*, and it is looked upon as a good omen among those most solicitous for the restoration of the Union.

[But the *Times*, Government authority, as is always held, had more to say, as follows:]

Senator Stewart this afternoon performed in the Senate a sort of political sommersault, at least his feat was so regarded by Mr. Sumner, who formally rose from his seat and welcomed the Senatorial acrobat with open arms as a new convert to the necessity of negro suffrage. This proffered embrace was provoked by the mongrel resolutions introduced by the Senator from Nevada, in which he proposes to settle accounts with the people lately in rebellion, by giving general amnesty in place of universal suffrage and equality in civil rights, regardless of color or race. Mr. Stewart explained that he drew light and authority for a part of his mixed proposition, from the President, whose letter to Gov. Sharkey, of Mississippi, of August 15, 1865, he read as an expose of Mr. Johnson's private opinions and desires upon negro suffrage. The letter is the same that I telegraphed you in substance a few days ago, as part of the basis of Mr. Wilson's joint resolution for representation and the resumption of the practical relations of States lately in rebellion. When Mr. Stewart concluded his explanation, the radical side of the Senate resolved itself into a sort of mutual admiration society, and each of the brethren in turn got up to thank and welcome the young convert, who directly passed over to that side of the Senate, and received the pats on the back and blessings from Messrs. Sumner, Wilson, and others. Mr. Stewart seemed about as much astonished at what he had done as anybody in the Senate. He evidently had made a louder report than he had contemplated, for he was exceedingly noncommittal in his explanation, and emphatically refused to give his indorsement separately to any of the several features of his resolution.

INDIANA.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

THE Indiana Democratic State Convention assembled in Indianapolis on the 15th, and was largely attended.

The following nominations were made:

Secretary of State—Gen. Moblon D. Manson, of Montgomery.

Auditor—Christian G. Badger, of Clark.

Treasurer—James Bryon, of Marion.

Attorney-General—John R. Coffrath, of Huntington.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—R. M. Chapman, of Knox.

The first resolution of the Platform denies the right of any State to secede from the Union.

The second approves of the principle avowed by President Johnson, in his annual message, for the reconstruction of the Union, and solemnly condemns the action of the majority in Congress, who in lust of power are keeping States out of the Union. The resolution concludes by cordially indorsing President Johnson's veto of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, promising him the most warm, earnest and disinterested support of the Democracy of Indiana.

The third believes that the sole power of the Senate and House of Representatives over the admission of members is confined to the election returns and qualifications of its members respectively; and it declares that Congress in rejecting from representation eleven States, acknowledged to be in the Union by having their votes counted in favor of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, both the Senate and House of Representatives have usurped powers not delegated to them by the Constitution, and are acting in violation thereof.

The fourth inflexibly opposes a prohibitory or protective tariff.

The fifth declares that taxation and representation should go together.

The ninth denounces conferring suffrage upon the negroes of the District of Columbia.

The tenth opposes the repeal of the Constitutional article prohibiting negroes settling in this State.*

The fifteenth pledges the Democratic party of Indiana to oppose all prohibitory liquor and Sunday laws.

---

* Sec. 1. No negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in this State after the adoption of this Constitution.

Sec. 2. All contracts made with any negro or mulatto coming into this State contrary to the foregoing section, shall be void; and all persons who shall employ or otherwise encourage such negro or mulatto to remain in the State, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten dollars nor more than five hundred dollars.

Sec. 3. All fines which may be collected for a violation of the provisions of this article or any law which may hereafter be passed for the purpose of carrying the same into execution, shall be set apart and appropriated for the colonization of such negroes and mulattoes, and their descendants, as may be in the State at the adoption of this Constitution, and may be willing to emigrate.

Sec. 4. The General Assembly shall pass laws to carry out the provisions of this article.

THE PROSPECT IN PRUSSIA.

From the Providence Journal.

WERE it not for the absorbing interest in our own affairs, we could not but follow with earnest attention the course of the great contest between King and people, between despotism and constitutional liberty, in Prussia. Such a contest anywhere must always have a profound interest for a free people like us. But when we remember how commanding a place the writers and thinkers of that powerful kingdom have held for the last half century among the great scholars of the world, how many of her sons are now upon our soil, and how important is her political position in Europe, we cannot afford to shut our eyes to the struggle which is going on between an illiberal, narrow-minded sovereign and a patient and long-suffering people. We have from time to time described the steps, by which the monarch was striving to break down all the barriers which the constitution of the land has set up for the defence of the subjects, and the methods by which the latter have striven to defend themselves. The King, or perhaps we should rather say, his Prime Minister, Bismarck, has endeavored to substitute a standing army for the militia. He has attempted to officer the army almost wholly with the sons of the nobles, to make it sympathize with the court party. When the lower House refused to vote the military supplies, the King dissolved the body. Several times has he tried this experiment, but always to find a new House elected, with a larger Liberal majority than its predecessor had. Being thus continually thwarted, his patience has become exhausted, and he has resorted to the extreme measure of suppressing the House for the remainder of its session. He turns them out of doors, and slams the door behind them. How long the people will bear this kind of treatment we cannot say. They have thus far contented themselves with electing to the Chamber men who will not surrender to the wishes of Bismarck. But it would seem that if he persist in his policy, sooner or later scenes of violence must ensue. He is a man of great ability and of powerful will. He is a terrible foe for the people to encounter.

BRILLIANT SOUTHERN PROGRAMME.

From the Philadelphia Press.

THE favorite Southern ideas in regard to the future destiny of the freedmen, as reiterated and elaborately defended by their recognized organs, may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. The Freedmen's Bureau must be abolished and all colored troops disbanded or withdrawn from their soil, so that the present agencies of protection may be destroyed, and the paragraphs frequently telegraphed from Washington to the Northern journals illustrating the real condition of Southern society may no longer appear. We mean such statements as we published yesterday morning (which is only a fair type of the ordinary returns made to the Freedmen's Bureau), viz.:

> "*Reports of outrages, murder and whipping of freedmen* continue to be made to Gen. Howard. The agents of the Government, however, *quickly mete out justice in such cases, and the guilty offenders receive merited punishment.*"

The demand is persistently made that natural laws should be left to regulate the whole question of the relations between the two races, under the operation of codes which, like the men who administer them, unblushingly declare that freedmen "have no rights which white men are bound to respect."

2. The thirst of the freedmen for education, of which many remarkable proofs have been given, must be checked. On the one hand they are taunted with ignorance, because it is alleged that they have failed to evade the laws and customs rigidly enforced through a long series of years to prevent them from acquiring knowledge; and, on the other, great antagonism is manifested to the efforts being made in many quarters to give them those rudiments of a common school education which the enlightened judgment of civilization has decreed to be, in properly organized societies, the birth-right of every human being. It is even now regarded in the South as little less of an offence against the peace and good order of their communities to assist the enlightenment of the newly-emancipated millions than it was formerly to commit the fearful crime of teaching the mysteries of the alphabet to a bounden slave.

3. While our Government and people are required to abandon to whatever fate their former masters may choose to mete out the race which proved effective and sincere allies in a long and terrible contest, and which contains within itself, as bitter experience has proven, a very large proportion of the reliable loyalty of the South, we are not permitted to hug to our bosoms the delusion that by such recreancy to implied obligations and the behest of honor and humanity, our national expenditures will be reduced. On the contrary, they will probably be greatly increased; for it is part of this magnificent Southern programme that we are to have nothing whatever to do with the freedmen, *except to provide for the helpless women and children, the old, decrepit,*

sick and disabled. This is seriously and generally urged on the ground that we abolished slavery, and must hold ourselves responsible for all the expenses involved in the maintenance of those unproductive classes who were formerly supported by their masters. To show that we do not in any way exaggerate this proposition, we quote below the concluding paragraph of a letter recently addressed by Professor Nott, the great Southern *savant* of Mobile, to Gen. Howard, as it appears in *De Bow's Review*—viz:

> "After removing your bureau and the troops, I see but one duty for you to perform, and that is, *to assist us in feeding and clothing colored paupers. The old, the infirm, the women and children, the worthless vagrants, will form a burden that we are unable to carry.* As long as women and children were property, and the unproductive child was one day to be a profitable producer, the owners could afford to feed women and children that constitute one-half of this population. All this is now changed, and the capital of the South is no longer adequate to provide for such an enormous charity. No large farmer in Ohio or Pennsylvania would consent to take ten or twenty negro families, or German peasants with their families, pay them wages, find them in houses, and feed and clothe them for their labor. Nor can we. Of all peasantry in the world, the blacks, on such terms, would make the hardest bargain.
>
> "I say, then, that you have brought this state of things upon the South in spite of remonstrances, *and you must 'pay out' or see the victims of your policy starve.*"

In view of such impudent and arrogant demands, we are compelled to look rather to history than to the temper of the people of the two sections, to ascertain who triumphed in the late war. If the Confederates had been victorious, we cannot conceive how they could have been much more exacting than they are in the moment of overwhelming defeat.

POSSIBILITIES AND PROBABILITIES.

[We hear much of late about Revivals. No change has, however, given us more pleasure than that which is eminently observable in the course of the *Right Way.* From an announcement in the last issue, which we cheerfully copy in another column, it will be seen that an effort is to be made to continue its publication beyond the time first proposed. That the Republican Press generally is immeasurably below the demands of the present most alarming crisis, must be apparent to any who possess a power of vision worthy the name. As Mr. Stearns has been spending some time at the Capital, the following article is doubtless in part the result of his own observation, and will be read with profound interest.]

In view of the fact that President Johnson is no mean antagonist in the present conflict with Congress, the country should consider what he can do, if disposed, to execute his plans, regardless of consequences to himself or the nation.

That he intends to walk in the path marked out by himself, there can be no manner of doubt. Among his many declarations read the following to a committee of Baltimore gentlemen, appointed to present him with a set of resolutions passed by a meeting of his sympathizers in that city:

> "Gentlemen: I cannot make any speech in reply, but in response to what has been said, I will simply remark that my policy, to which you have alluded as before the country, was not announced as the result of impulse, nor was it thrown out for any *ad captandum* purpose. It was announced as the result of conviction, of mature consideration, as a necessary constituent of the principles upon which this Government rests. That policy, which I honestly regard as being the best for the country, will continue before the people *without the slightest deviation,* and without being swerved from on my part. I do not say this in a spirit of menace, or threat to anybody, but simply to give assurance that there will be no abandonment of, and no shrinking from, that policy, because I believe that the very existence and prosperity of the Government depend upon the maintenance of the principles which have thus been enunciated."

Now what is the intention of the President, the specious cover of which is a "policy, the result of conviction, of mature consideration?" It is this, and nothing less: To have the Southern Rebel States represented in the 39th Congress, if it be within the scope of his power to accomplish it. As an aid to his scheme, he has deliberately, calmly, inflexibly, having counted the cost, at the moment that his judgment dictated was the proper one, brought on a rupture with Congress. By and with the advice of men not in sympathy with the party that elected him to office, and in perfect understanding with the Democrats whose leaders, over three months ago, in this very city of Boston, boasted that the President was pledged to them, he has acted with the express purpose of destroying the Republican party, and forming a new "National party," that should support him in all his measures.

If this new party obtains popularity, he may bide his time until the Fall Elections change the political complexion of Congress; but, if the Republicans remain intact, if the people come fairly and squarely up to the work and support *their* Congress, or if Mr. Johnson anticipates such a result, he must take another course. What is that? Revolution!! How?

He has himself already indicated, by charging those who oppose his policy as having inaugurated another Rebellion. What more convenient pretext can he have than that of declaring, "No State has ever been out of the Union. Eleven States are not represented in Congress. Who prevents this representation? I do not. Who does? You, gentlemen of the Senate, and you, gentlemen of the House of Representatives. *I* am for the Union. *You* are against it. Therefore you are disunionists. Being disunionists, you are rebels; and *rebellion must be put down by force if necessary.*"

The President has thrown himself into the hands of the traitors, and hence the utterances of the Rebel press North and South possess a significance not known before. We *must* regard them as Presidential mouthpieces, from the Washington *Intelligencer* down to the doubly re-constructed Richmond *Examiner.* What says the Chicago *Times?*

> "We do not hesitate to declare that it is the solemn duty of the President to follow his words by deeds. *We do not hesitate to declare that it is the solemn duty of the President to command the arrest of Thaddeus Stevens, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, and their confederates in Congress and all over the country, for the crime of treason.* In no other way can this Northern rebellion be promptly quelled, and the public quiet restored.
>
> "And, if the rump Congress shall not speedily abandon its seditious, revolutionary, and lawless practices, if it shall persist in excluding the representatives of eleven States from their rightful seats, and in exercising the powers of the Congress of the United States, we do not hesitate to declare that *it will become the solemn duty of President Johnson to constitute himself the Cromwell of the time, and dissolve the rump by military power.*"

What says the New York *News* in alluding to Congress?

> "Even though made up of a large majority of the Congressmen of the United States, the political conclave which, by reason of having transcended the supervisory or the expulsory powers given Congress in reference to membership in its body, presents a violation, in even a single case, of the stipulation that 'each State shall have at least one representative' in the House, does *not constitute the organization known to the Constitution as the House of Representatives.* Even though it sit in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol, even though it be made up of Senators duly chosen by the Legislatures of the majority of the States, even though it embrace not only a *quorum,* but even *nineteen-twentieths of the whole,* the assemblage which, by reason of having travelled beyond the authority given to it, so jealously, so grudgingly over its own members, shows a single instance of its usurpation of a power denied to even the sovereign people themselves, in the provision 'that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of equal suffrage in the Senate,' *is undoubtedly not the body defined in the Constitution as the Senate of the United States.*"

Is not this enough? Read the emphatic remarks of Garrett Davis from his place in the Senate, convincing his auditors that for once the Senator from Kentucky had something to talk about:

> "Senators seem to think that they have the whole power over this matter, but they are mistaken. The power rests elsewhere; and I announce that this whole matter can be legally and constitutionally settled in ten days—aye in one day. The 3d section of the second article of the Constitution provides that the President shall, from time to time, give the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary or expedient. Here, sir, is a provision in the Constitution which requires the President to communicate to the two Houses of Congress information as to the state of the Union, and recommend to them such measures as he shall deem proper and expedient. What does this require him to do? *He has to ascertain who compose the two Houses of Congress.* It is his right, it is his constitutional function, to ascertain who constitute the two Houses of Congress. *The members of the Senate who are in favor of the admission of the Southern Senators could get into a conclave with those Southern Senators any day, and they would constitute a majority of the Senate.* The President of the United States has the constitutional option—it is his function—it is his power—it is his right—and *I would advise him to exercise it*—he has the right at any day to ascertain, where there are different bodies, members of the Senate contending, which is the true Senate. If the Southern members and those who are for admitting them to their seats constitute a majority of the whole Senate, the President has a right—*and, by the Eternal! he ought to exercise that right, forthwith, to-morrow, or any other day—to recognize the opposition here and the Southern members* as a majority of the Senate."

Now, will President Johnson do all this work? One thing can save us for the present. Congress can recede from its position, and begin by admitting the Tennessee Representatives. But *will that bring us peace?* Will Mr. Johnson be content with this? Tennessee once in, then Congress must swallow Arkansas. Arkansas in, then the whole train of "wayward sisters" will come grandly sweeping in. What then? Peace? No! Never! For with this re-enforcement of Southern votes to the Copperheads now in national councils, joined with what weak-kneed Republicans can be sloughed off from their party through Executive influence, the loyalists of the Union will be outvoted on every question relating to the true interests of the country.

But suppose Congress stands firm. Then in Presidential language they are Rebels, and as such must be dispersed. If a local police will not do it, Federal bayonets can. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. If Gen. Grant disobeys orders, Gen. Lee can be pardoned and put to service.

Mr. Johnson says he will not swerve from the course marked out. He means what he says. Has Mr. Johnson an army with which to enforce his wishes? There are to-day 300,000 returned Confederate soldiers in the South. What have Mr. Johnson's Governors been doing all this time? Have they not been guilty of putting these soldiers, as "State militia," into training for a new conflict if one should arise. Are they not aroused? Has not the removal of the trade restrictions with the "former insurrectionary States" furnished the people of the South with enough munitions to last them until they could come farther North. Have the rebels any less to begin a war with than in '61.

All over the South, the *people hate the Union as much as ever;* and their leaders repeatedly declare in private their intention again to control the Government; and they *will do it* unless the slumbering North awakens from its fatal sleep. In the language of a Confederate officer since the close of the war to an officer on the staff of one of our Western Generals, "We (the South) always have run this Government; and what's more, we always mean to."

Another danger threatens. How easy it is for Mr. Johnson, through his wily Secretary of State, to give secret aid and comfort to the Fenians, exacting from their leaders a pledge that they will help him in his efforts to restore the Union. What more would the Fenians desire than to have Mr. Seward so disregard neutrality obligations, that England, in honor bound, would feel obliged to declare war against the United States? And Mr. Seward more than any other official knows that a foreign war would place the North at the mercy of the South. Has Mr. Seward the will to do this? He will need watching more now than ever.

Months may elapse before the storm bursts; but if it does, the North will be, not merely between two fires, but surrounded by fires: a confederate army in the South, a Fenian army of 50,000 to 100,000 on the North, with an English war confronting it, and the secret enmity of the French usurper seeking to destroy our nationality.

Still another danger. The Secretary of the Treasury is in full accord with the President. What is he doing? Is he providing for the future by trying to induce Congress to pass his Foreign Loan bill, so that before hostilities actually begin he may be supplied with "the sinews of war?" Why does he not give honest reports to the country? Why does he state that he has on hand in the Treasury one hundred and sixteen million of dollars in gold and currency, and forgot to speak of the one hundred and seventy millions of dollars additional in the National Banks and public Depositories subject to his call? How easily the President, through Mr. McCulloch, can control the purse of the nation until all is ready for the last desperate movement toward despotism!

Look at the powers of the President. Will he fail to use them in furtherance of his plans? Not if he is what he now appears to be. With a bold, bad, mad, ambitious President, with one who takes Andrew Jackson for his model without his patriotism, what cannot be done?

Still another danger. How easy it will be for the President to wait; permit Congress to dissolve or adjourn; let its members generally go home, but hold a secret understanding with those who uphold his policy, requesting them to remain near Washington; then, by constitutional provision, call Congress together in extra session to consider the state of the country. Of course the Southern members are on hand. The Copperheads are there. The Republicans who love office more than country are there. With the quorum thus obtained, and before the Northern and Western Republican members can assemble, the work is done, and Mr. Johnson "is master of the situation."

To sum up, What are the dangers that confront the nation?

A President doggedly perverse, boldly defiant, ambition-inspired, deliberately, obstinately determined to execute *his* individual will.

A Congress divided within itself, and debating what *to do,* while the President and his Southern satellites *are doing* and *have done.*

A Cabinet strongly spell-bound under the power of the evil genius of the Lincoln administration, who by a few strokes of his pen can plunge the country into a foreign war, if needed to ruin the country. The Treasury controlled by an officer in full political fellowship with the President. The Secretary of the Navy "gone over." The Secretary of War where he cannot be identified. The Secretary of the Interior and the Attorney-General outvoted.

Official patronage all ready to buy up cowards and knaves. The people of the North *apparently* indifferent. The whites of the South are rebellious as ever, and the blacks disarmed, and struggling for the privilege of bare life.

This is but a view of the probable dangers of the future, not counting upon the threatened *coup d'état* of the present. But is there no cause for just alarm in the indications of some such movement as that foreshadowed by Garrett Davis and other representatives of Mr. Johnson's policy?

People say, "Mr. Johnson would not be so foolish. He would not dare to do this." Do we not remember that people said the same about the South in the early days of secession? It was thought that the South would not dare, nor be so foolish, so crazy, as to inaugurate war; *but they did it.*

Has Mr. Johnson shown any disposition to abandon his policy, or to surrender any of his settled purposes; and does not every concession to him strengthen, and every surrender to him fortify, his position? Truly, "an earthquake is about us." Can we depend upon the firmness and the courage of Congress? On the one hand, we are threatened with an ignominous betrayal by the weakness of an uncompensated and useless "Concession;" on the other by a high-handed assumption of despotic power.

The country depends upon Congress to meet the issue without faltering. The country will stand by Congress. Will Congress continue to stand by the country?

T.

SENATOR WADE ON THE PRESIDENT.

[A Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* sends the following. All who know the Ohio Senator will believe in the picture he unconsciously gives here of himself, whatever may be thought of his success with the President.]

The private opinions entertained and expressed by Ben. Wade concerning the President are not any better than those he gives vent to in public speeches. He made use of the following free speech yesterday: "I had known Andy Johnson a long time in the Senate. He and I had served on the same committee and had been very intimate. When he became President he sent for me among the first, and told me he should expect me to be his friend, and that he would be glad to take counsel from me. I told him I felt very much flattered by his compliment, and would always be glad to give him what little assistance I could. He asked me what he had better do with the rebels, and I told him he had better hang eight or ten of the leaders, and scare the balance so as they would run away, and to leave an open door for them to get out. He said he thought he would do that. I told him to tighten the bit on the damned scoundrels, as Lincoln had been driving them with too loose a rein. He agreed to that, too, and I thought for a while he was going to stick to it. Before I left him I told him to be warned by the fate of Fillmore and Tyler, who had come to the Presidency very much as he had. Said I: 'There never was a man in your position, made President by the death of another, that the men who voted against him, didn't try to get hold of him, and whenever they've sold out they've damned themselves eternally.' Johnson looked at me when I said this, and asked me if I had any fear about his going over to the opposition. I told him I hadn't, but, said I, 'you must look out for them and be prepared for them.' He laughed at me, and soon after I left him. I didn't think I was prophesying then, but it has since come out that I was. I tell you Andy Johnson is deeper dyed in infamy to-day, ten times over, that John Tyler ever was. He's a d—d sight worse traitor to his party than Tyler was, and he'll be worse yet before he goes out." I may have omitted a few damns from the above, but in other respects I think I have given very nearly the language of the Ohio Senator.—*Washington Cor. Cincinnati Commercial.*

ANXIETY FOR OUR COUNTRY

From the Boston Congregationalist.

The situation of our public affairs is such as to excite grave apprehension in the minds of thinking men. It is more and more evident that the President has adopted and will adhere to a policy which cannot receive the approval or support of either the majority in Congress, or of the loyal people. It is a policy which would immediately open the doors of the Capitol to the South, and allow it to share equally with the North—which has been true to the country through the war—in the difficult work of reconstruction; a policy which regards the late rebels as really loyal, and therefore entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizens and which stigmatizes as traitors those whom we know to be true to their country, and whose fidelity has been tried as by fire; a policy which is in direct antagonism with the deliberate opinions of those by whose votes Mr. Johnson now occupies his high position.

It is well for us to be anxious and watchful, when we see the Chief Magistrate extending a warm welcome to those whose hands are red with the blood of the nation; to those who fostered the rebellion and sympathized with it, and who would now vitiate all those glorious results of the war which have been so terribly earned, and which, with a sound policy, would be forever secured. It is well to feel solicitude for the welfare of the nation, when we have such evidence that the President has forgotten that treason is a crime and that traitors must be punished. It is well for us to be anxious for the nation's welfare, when we see the studied efforts to deprive the colored man of his rights—rights which are his by nature and by the results of the war—and when we see the plighted faith of the Government broken and the old antipathy to color again raising its unholy front. We have cause for apprehension when we see those in whom we have heretofore trusted, for unknown reasons giving their support to a course so persistently avowed by the President, and so antagonistic to their previously avowed principles; cause for apprehension when they unite their praises with those who for years have been notoriously disloyal, and many of them in arms against their country. An additional cause for solicitude is to be found in the fact that the unexpected and, as we think, dangerous course of Mr. Johnson and his adherents, is in opposition to the deliberate judgment of those familiar with the condition of affairs at the South, and whose official reports are treated with scorn, or utter neglect.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1866.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

No State shall make any distinction in civil rights and privileges among the naturalized citizens of the United States residing within its limits, or among persons born on its soil of parents permanently resident there, on account of race, color, or descent.

Subscribers will please note the bills enclosed in their Standards, and oblige us by promptly remitting the amount due.

A SPECIMEN STATE.

The election of John T. Monroe to be Mayor of New Orleans ought to satisfy the North as to the character of the "loyalty" that pervades the Crescent City. He was Mayor when Gen. Butler took New Orleans, and had to be displaced and long kept in prison for his obstinate and ostentatious hostility to the Union. Down to this day he has remained what he was in 1861. Friends of Mr. Johnson thought it necessary to start a story that the President had telegraphed Gen. Canby not to permit the inauguration of this traitor into office, but it appears that the traitor is an ardent friend of the Johnson reconstruction policy, and no obstacle will be thrown in his way. New Orleans will shortly be under the same municipal rule as that which in the first year of the war made it unsafe for a Union man to lift his head in the city.

This is an ugly fact for the President, since he is committed to the theory that the South is perfectly loyal, and fit for immediate readmission. There is but one way in which such a theory can be arrived at or supported—shut your eyes to *all* the facts. Since the evidence of the Reconstruction Committee has been published in part, that is not so easy. A large part of it relates to this very State, Louisiana, whose metropolis chooses not merely an unrepentant rebel, but its most notorious and offensive rebel, to its highest office. The testimony of Mr. Covode, also, is well worth weighing. His testimony, once before presented to the President in the shape of a report, had been suppressed—a proceeding by which Mr. Johnson accomplished an object for a time, but gains nothing in the end. It is reinforced by the letter of the Hon. H. C. Warmoth, claimant of a seat in the House as delegate from the Territory of Louisiana—a document of no little ability, and a good summary of information for those who like to see into what sort of loyalty the seed planted by such gardeners as Mr. N. P. Banks has finally blossomed. Mr. Warmoth traces the history of the successive State governments, so called. Of the legal basis on which the present Administration stands, a single fact will be evidence enough. The Constitution framed by the Banks military convention was ratified by 6,836 votes to 1,566 against it. In twenty-eight parishes, out of forty-eight, there was no election held. In the twenty parishes that did vote, there were cast in 1860, 26,694 votes, and the whole vote of the State was 50,510. So that the government which Mr. Johnson now asks Congress to recognize was organized by less than one-seventh of the voters of the State, counting only whites. Mr. Warmoth, who ignores the Constitution and asks admission as a territorial delegate, was elected by nearly three times as many votes as were cast in all the State for the ratification of the Constitution. A good portion of his constituents are black.

There was once a prospect that the Radical party would have gained control of the State machinery—indeed, they had, for a while, some reason to suppose themselves in possession of it. Wells, the present Governor, was chosen Lieutenant-Governor on a Republican ticket, but has deserted the party that raised him, and is in full fellowship with the President and his rebel supporters in the State. The party which he now represents makes no secret of its purpose to banish all loyal men from the State by outrage and persecution. The judicial machinery has already been turned against them. The grand jury of the parish of Terrebonne indicted Robert W. Bennie and Alfred Rougelot for advocating the right of the negroes to vote, and they were arrested and imprisoned on this charge. Judge Abell, of the Criminal Court of New Orleans, charged his grand jury that to teach the negroes they have a right to vote is "a direct violation of the laws of the land, clearly subversive of good order, productive of discontent among the colored people, and endangers the peace of the State...... Such treason against the law cannot be tolerated in any community." This denial of the right of free speech was called out by a mass meeting in favor of colored suffrage. The press of the city spoke in the same tone—"It is therefore treason against our entire population, as well as against the law, to attempt to deceive the negro by a solemn electoral farce; to sow the seeds of increased bitterness between the two races in the South, and to oppose the Government in its holy work of restoring harmony to a long-distracted land." The Legislature is not behind the grand juries, the judges, and the pro-slavery press in its efforts to put down free speech. At its last session it passed this Act:

> "That any one who shall *persuade or entice away,* feed, harbor, or secrete any person who leaves his or her employer......shall be liable for damages to the employer, and also, upon conviction thereof, shall be subject to pay a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, nor less than ten dollars, or imprisonment in the parish jail for not more than twelve months, nor less than ten days, or both, at the discretion of the Court.
>
> "That it shall be the duty of the judges of this State to give this Act especially in charge to the grand juries at each jury term of their respective courts."

The intent of this Act is indicated in the debate on its passage, in which one member said the New Orleans *Tribune,* a Republican paper, ought to be suppressed as a dangerous organ; in the remark of the *Southern Star,* Gov. Wells' private organ, that the speakers at a suffrage meeting ought to be in the dock of Judge Abell's court; and in the intimation of the latter, that to invite colored men to a meeting to hear suffrage discussed, is to entice them away from their masters. To say nothing of the certain fate of the negroes under this government, what is the probable chance that a decently loyal white man would be tolerated in such a community?

The only existing protection for such men is the military power of the United States, and that cannot, or at any rate does not, protect them in the State generally. When Messrs. Bennie and Rougelot were indicted for advocating suffrage, they were kept six weeks in prison before an order could be got from Gen. Canby for their release. The real military power is a reorganized rebel militia, marshalled under rebel officers, and wielded by the Governor for the oppression of the whites and the reënslavement of the blacks. Mr. Warmoth says: "Gen. John Scott, of the late insurgent forces, is Gen. John Scott, of the Louisiana militia; Col. Louis Bush, of the C. S. A. forces, is now Col. Louis Bush of the Louisiana militia. So it is over the whole State of Louisiana. Rebel soldiers, officered by rebel officers, with Federal arms, are to be the military questioners of the rights, liberties, and property of Union men. These are to have no voice at the ballot-box which will be heard, and they have no arms given them to protect themselves against outrage and oppression." They not only have no arms given them—they are forbidden to keep their own. The black soldier mustered out of the United States service is not permitted to keep his musket—a rebel patrol snatches it out of his loyal black hand; which he is authorized to do by a law prohibiting *any* person from carrying firearms on the premises or plantations of any citizen without the consent of the owner or proprietor, other than in lawful discharge of a civil or military order. To permit the negro to carry arms would be inconsistent with the purpose declared in a dozen other statutes to reduce him to a state of permanent serfdom, and to "regulate" labor on such terms as may be conducive to the interests of the planters. Such is the present condition of one of the States which the President would have instantly readmitted into Congress on equal terms with the loyal commonwealths of the North.

Freedmen's Bureau.—The *Tribune's* special Washington dispatches say the reports received at the headquarters of the Freedmen's Bureau from all parts of the South, although sometimes conflicting, are generally of such a character as to give no hope or encouragement to those who desire the speedy pacification of the colored and white races of the South. Well authenticated reports are daily received by Gen. Howard, detailing the most diabolical outrages on the freedmen of the South, but all of which are forwarded to Congress and the publication of which is consequently delayed. The whites, with very few exceptions, are inclined to show the freedmen very little or no favor, and only respect their rights when they cannot help themselves. In some counties he finds the freedmen claim that their contracts were not read to them, or that there was more written in the contracts than was read to them, and they offer that in many instances as a reason for breaking them. He says that the whites, with but very few exceptions, are disposed to be exceedingly disloyal, and nothing but the fear of the power of the United States Government prevents outrages. The whites have a report circulating in that county that by next December they will have their freedmen again slaves, and act on this belief. They desire to keep the freedmen with them by force, pay them as little as possible, and be indulged in the chivalric practice of woman-whipping, murder, etc.

The Massachusetts Board of State Charities.—This important institution has made its Second Annual Report—a document of great value. The report of its Secretary, F. B. Sanborn, Esq., is exceedingly able, full of pertinent facts and most important suggestions; and sure to be carefully studied by every one interested in Penal Legislation, Lunatic Hospitals and the Treatment of the Poor. The Report of the Board itself is valuable; though deformed in several parts by the petulance, ignorance and blind partisanship so often found in the writings of its author, Dr. Samuel G. Howe.

Club Rates.—In answer to several inquiries, we would say, The Standard will be sent to the several persons composing clubs of ten *new* subscribers, for Twenty-five Dollars, and to those of twenty *new* subscribers, for Forty Dollars—no matter whether their Post Office address is one or many. The safest way is to deposit the money with the Postmaster, and forward *his order* to us.

PERSONAL.

A deputation of colored gentlemen from Virginia, mostly clergymen, visited the President recently and also paid their respects to Mr. Seward. The Secretary received them affably, but stated that *he was not in a position to do much for them.* The New Bedford *Standard* thinks, and so do we, Mr. Seward is really very much to be pitied. When a younger man he was in a position to do one of the noblest acts of his life in the defence of a poor colored man against an unfounded accusation. Now that he is old and Secretary of State he is not in a position to do anything to aid a proscribed race in the enjoyment of civil and political rights. He is in a position to indorse the maudlin speeches of the President, but not in a position to do anything towards protecting the emancipated slaves against the hatred of their former masters. He can do much for the individual, but nothing for the race. Perhaps a private position would enable him to accomplish more in this direction than a public one. If so, we should not regret a change.

Mr. Garrison, by his scathing but eminently just criticisms of the Administration and its policy, recently, at Brooklyn, has dashed all the hopes of his hosts of new made friends. They thought he cared no more for the colored man themselves. The Louisville *Journal* says:

> "William Lloyd Garrison, who of late has had certain lucid intervals from the dark night of insanity, is again lapsing into the old fury of the madman, for he again gnashes his teeth and howls in the delirium of his fanaticism. . . . Rave on, thou dastardly and damnable epitome of follies! Keep in motion the ruffling breeze which the past twenty years of an ill-spent life has awakened; but when all the puerile babblings of a blasphemous and traitorous tongue have spent their force, behold the firmness and patriotism with which the statesmen of our country sustain the institutions bequeathed to them."

Richard Thomas Griffin, a colored young man who had his feet cut off by Tennessee rebels for trying to escape to the Union army (one at a time, the last being for a second attempt to escape), came from Washington to this city some time ago for the purpose of obtaining artificial feet. He has succeeded admirably. Through the efforts of Mr. Charles B. Ray he obtained $50 in Zion (Colored) Church; Mr. Peter S. Porter obtained a much larger sum from the Hannibal Benevolent and Literary Society, and several white ladies and gentlemen. Richard was thus provided with pedals and a few greenbacks to boot, and sent back to Washington rejoicing in his thorough reconstruction.

The President is tired of colored troops, and has determined to have forty thousand, now stationed at the South, mustered out within the coming month.

The London *Athenæum* says: A correspondent writes from Rome: "An interesting novelty has sprung up among us, in a city where all our surroundings are of the olden time. Miss Edmonia Lewis, a lady of color, has taken a studio here, *and works as a sculptress in one of the rooms formerly occupied by the great master Canova.* She is the only lady of her race in the United States who has thus applied herself to the study and practice of sculptural art."

Rev. Calvin Fairbank and wife are stopping at the Hygiene Institution in Danville, N. Y., called "Our Home on the Hillside." He hopes to improve his health, which was greatly impaired by cruelties and prison life experienced in Kentucky.

Gen. McNeill, a Radical who was nominated and confirmed by the Senate as Surveyor of the Port of St. Louis, Mo., vice Howard, has never been able to obtain his commission for that office. Gen. Frank Blair has been nominated for Collector of Internal Revenue in St. Louis, vice Taussig, removed.

The postmaster at Acworth, Ga., writes to the Auditor of the Post-Office Department, enclosing a small sum of money, and says his life has been endangered, and the post-office nearly destroyed because he had collected this sum for the United States of an ex-postmaster.

The Fenian Frenzy.—The *Tribune* says both sections of the Brotherhood are keeping hot their zeal, the O'Mahonyans bent on invading Ireland, the O'Sweenyans determined first on the conquest of Canada, as a base of operations at least.

> "It is stated that the adherents of O'Mahony number in the United States about 800,000 members, and that about 80,000 adhere to the fortune of Sweeny. Everything written about Fenianism, is more or less vague, and if one-tenth of the rumors in daily circulation were printed, the public would be kept in a state of excitement extremely detrimental, if not fatal, to their digestion. However, it is confidently stated by those who are supposed to know something about Fenian affairs, that the Sweeny party are at present engaged in endeavors to raise several cavalry regiments in this city, and that very tempting offers have been made to some of the cavalry officers of the late war. It is also reported that Sweeny is so assured of taking and keeping the Canadas, that he has already mapped out the most valuable estates and pieces of property, for which lots have been drawn by his followers. Some of the more enthusiastic of his clansmen assert that they intend to retain permanent possession of the British American territories, even after they shall have achieved the independence of Ireland. A word for the O'Mahony side. The O'Mahony Fenians claim to have sent 5,000 men to Ireland during the last ten days. They confidently assert that these men will land, not in Ireland, but in some foreign country—we are not at liberty to state where—and that they will immediately report to Stephens, who will dispose of them as he sees fit. Large sums of money are pouring into the treasury, and the sale of bonds is equal to the figures already quoted."

THE PRESIDENT'S DREAM.

BY ELIZA L. TURNER.

The President lay in his bed,
And O! but his sleep was soft!
For he dreamed the States in peace were blent,
And he, as Perpetual President,
Rehearsed his sufferings oft;
And a tan-colored maid, in robes of red,
Danced in with Senator Sumner's head,
On a charger borne aloft.

Still the President dreamed.
The head had turned about,
And followed him round with its speaking eyes;
Though what it said, when it looked so wise,
He could not well make out.
But each old friend's face, as he viewed it, took
The same identical curious look,
And chilled his soul with doubt.

Still the President dreamed.
A weight came on the bed;
And, glancing down to the foot, he saw
A black man sitting; he shook with awe,
For, sure, the man was dead.
His eyes were gone, his body was lean,
With the black flesh turned to the strangest green,
And a gash along his head.

Still the President dreamed.
A grasp was on his hand;
A panting woman, ragged and wild,
Begged a bite for her starving child,
Come up from the Georgia land.
And the scared eyes, turning here and yon—
Ready to fight, or ready to run—
Were the eyes of a Contraband.

Still the President dreamed.
A load was on his chest—
Fifteen bodies, caught in a seine,
Dragged from the stream with might and main,
And tumbled on his breast;
And up the stairs, and in at the door,
More men coming, and more, and more,
And always toward him pressed.

Still the President dreamed.
A voice was in his ear—
A voice that cried, "For the white man's pride,
For want of the justice you denied,
For want of your help and cheer,
For the wrongs unrighted, the woes unhealed,
The promises plighted and unfulfilled,
Our delegates are here."

Still the voice in his ear:
"They know what you mean, you see;
They take back the fields we earned so well,
They crowd us in prison and vagrant cell,
They hunt us from land to sea.
The trees are gibbets, the wells are graves,
The alleys are vaults for murdered slaves,
Punished for turning free.

"And this it was yours to mend,
And the trust was left with you;
You offer us up at the White House door,
And to us for ever and evermore,
Your traitor soul is due!
We'll crowd your hearth, we'll lie in your bed,
We'll follow you living, we'll follow you dead—
We'll teach you how to be true!

"No need of fiery coal,
No need of sulphurous stream."
—He shrieked, he woke, he sprang to his feet,
He cried to the servants for brandy neat—
His terror was so extreme.
To and fro in affright they ran.
Yet would that many a Congressman
Could dream the President's dream.

CONCILIATION—THE BONE OF CONTENTION.

Reconstruction, in order to have a permanent basis, must take into its plan and purpose the reunion of alienated religious feelings. Secession had its stimulus, if not its origin, in a severance of religious ties. At the North, especially in the Eastern States, Abolitionism, linking itself with the religious element, cast its firebrands into the combustible materials of the South. The religious leaders took fire, and communicated the flame to the people. At the North, meanwhile, stringent resolutions were passed by ecclesiastical bodies declaring all intercourse with the South under existing circumstances impossible. And so the breach continued to widen. But now that the bone of contention is buried, what hinders the spirit of mutual forgiveness, toleration and kindness from having free course? Is it Christian, we ask, to retain prejudices which other circumstances may have produced, but which the present aspect of things should extinguish? Is it not the spirit of our religion to forgive even our enemies? How much more our erring brethren? When the question was put to one whose whole life was an embodiment of love and forbearance, "How often shall we exercise forgiveness; until seven times?" the noble reply was, "Yea, I say unto you until seventy times seven."

We commend this spirit to the Christians of the South as well as of the North, assured that if the religious prejudices be removed, the work of reunion and reconstruction will be rendered comparatively easy.

W.

The above is from an article of the *Times.* "The bone of contention" is not buried, until a genuine Republican Government is established in every Southern State; until the doctrine of equality which was the essential element of the religion of Jesus is preached in every Southern church. The question before the nation is not one of "forgiveness, toleration, forbearance, prejudice" but the broader one of justice, liberty, equality, and no true man should consent to any reconstruction that does not secure these sheet anchors of national life. It is morally sublime to see a christian steadily and earnestly walking in the path of righteousness, generously forgiving ridicule, hatred and persecution, returning good for evil, blessings for curses; but base, if he stand a silent witness of oppression and see the *least* right of the weak and helpless invaded by the strong and mighty, without resistance, even unto death. What may be heroic to bear one's self, is cowardice to see inflicted on another. "Abolitionism" has been all there was of organized vital religion in this country for the last thirty years. William Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors have done more to spread the gospel of the New Testament, than all the ecclesiastics in the country. Justice is the soul of Christianity, and the only foundation for Church or State. One of the most ominous features of the present is the revival epidemic just now beginning in our churches, a sure prelude to some political disgrace. A close observer of our national history tells us, that every downward step we have taken, for the last half century, has been in the midst of religious excitement, when the attention of the people was cunningly drawn off by priest and politician, (who always play into each others hands) from the interests of this world to the next. Christians, the duty of this hour is the reconstruction of the Church as well as the State on the highest idea of equality! Our duties to humanity are above those to country, church, family or self. "If you love not man whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen." Leave the discussion of dancing and theatres to the New York *Observer* and those priests who have nothing broader to preach; for these sins, if they be such, are light as air compared with our hatred of the black man. What think you were Pharaoh's *amusements* in the sight of Heaven, to his oppression of Israel?

An article like the above does not find its way into the *Times* by chance. The power behind that throne knows how to play on the deepest and most sacred chords of the human soul as well as on those that touch merely the interests of ambition and power. Politicians would keep the pulpit dumb on national affairs when it should be a pillar of light to the people, when it should hold up the standard of right. At such an hour as this when strong men begin to falter, why are not the words of Massachusetts' noblest son in the Senate echoed back from every altar in the land and chanted by every choir beneath its dome. There is nothing in all our creeds so sacred and so saving as the declaration of the Fathers, "All men are created equal."

The duty Heaven lays on every man and woman at this crisis, is not to crowd our churches to pray and sing, but to go forth among the people, to speak through every press, pulpit and representative in Congress for equal rights to all, that we may lay the foundation-stone of a Republic that shall stand forever a light to the nations of the earth. If we must perish as have all the republics before us, let our sun go down on us fighting for liberty; that thus we may be sure of a more glorious resurrection.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, March 19, 1866.

There has been in preparation and in process of manufacture in Boston for some months past a revival of pro-slavery religion—the sort of religion inculcated and exemplified by Dr. South-side Adams. As this system will of course be brought to bear against the interests of freedom in the future as in the past, it seems fitting to give the readers of The Standard some brief statement respecting the present attitude, the purposes and the methods of its promoters.

To begin as near the beginning as we can get—early in the present year Dr. Adams began a series of "revival measures" in his church in Essex street. Extra prayer-meetings were held, special sermons preached, printed invitations sent to outside sinners to walk in and be provided for. The results of these measures were so very moderate that greater efforts and new coadjutors were found necessary. So "a Council of the [Orthodox] Congregational churches in Boston" was called by Dr. Adams and his church, and invited to assemble in the Essex street meeting-house and advise what measures should next be taken.

Among the deceptive phraseology in common use among the leaders of the churches united in this movement, is the representation that they and theirs are *the* Congregational churches of Boston. It ought to be stated, in justice to the Unitarian Congregationalists of this city, that none of them were guilty of the absurdity of consulting with South-side Adams in regard to the means of making new converts to Christianity.

The problem seemed not an easy one, since it was only at the third adjourned meeting that a plan of action was adopted by the Reverends and laymen of the Council. They, however, showed themselves skilful and practical men, since after long discussions, the elaborate report of a committee, and the pruning of that report by the sagacious managers assembled, it was unanimously agreed among them that *the tools must be sharpened.*

The published "Result" of this Council, printed to the extent of two columns in the "religious" newspapers of Boston, urged as the measure first in importance a "renewal of covenant" among the members of those churches which were arranging for a "revival." "We recommend," said the Council, "that all our churches should simultaneously, on the third Sunday of March solemnly renew their covenant with God and with each other;" and, "in order that this reconsecration may be general and effectual, we suggest that early notice should be given as far as possible to every member of the churches, and that one or more appropriate sermon be preached in each church on or before the appointed day."

It may be noticed here that this was the method used by that veteran in revivalism, the late Dr. Lyman Beecher. Assiduous in representing, while the desired results were coming, and after they had come, that "it was the Lord's work," and by no means the result of an adaptation of appropriate human means to clerical ends, he was equally assiduous beforehand in seeing that the appropriate human means were in working order and actually at work. He made no secret of these tactics, and gained great success by them, as his biography shows. But on one occasion, if I remember rightly the contents of that book, when Dr. Beecher had preached, by invitation, a certain number of his revival sermons in a certain town without the least appearance of the customary results, he made inquiry, and found that the church-members were resting on their oars, and waiting until he and the Holy Spirit should set a revival in motion. As I remember, he at once desisted and left in disgust, admonishing that perverse generation that he would do no work for them until they were ready to apply their own strength and means to the same end.

The first measure proposed by the Council for getting the instruments of revivalism into working order was, as I have said, a "renewal of covenant" by the members of each church concerned, after the preaching of appropriate sermons by their ministers. The second was that, immediately after this manipulation (that is, on the evening of the third Sunday in March), there should be "united communion services" in the Park Street meeting-house, that the work already done might be fortified. The third was that addresses written by the ministers of the churches concerned should be printed and circulated among the church-members, plainly setting before them "*the means* through which we hope for a renewal of the work of the Holy Spirit among us." Eleven subjects for these addresses are specified, of which the first three may serve as a sufficient specimen. They are—

"1. The duty of a more strict observance of the Sabbath, by Rev. Dr. Blagden.

"2. The power and office of the Holy Spirit, by Rev. Dr. Adams.

"3. The power of prayer, by Rev. Dr. Kirk."

Next among the recommendations of the Council came "Observance of the Sabbath." They are convinced "the the services of the Lord's Day ought to be considered *supreme* above all other times and means of grace," and they earnestly urge attendance "on *both* the services usually held"—a duty which they declare to be too much neglected by church-members as well as others.

Fifth, the Council recommended to the pastors great plainness and distinctness in preaching upon what they call the "primal truths of God's Word," namely—"Man's total alienation from God; His divine justice in the eternal punishment of the wicked; the new birth; salvation through faith in Christ."

Chief among the remaining recommendations of the Council were the following:—co-operation between different churches by union prayer-meetings; an increase in the number of social prayer-meetings held by each church for itself; a systematic visitation of the members of each church by "competent and experienced Christians;" a co-operation of all the churches with whichever one of them may appoint "protracted meetings;" the use of the Sabbath-school "as a means of drawing children and others into the services of the sanctuary;" the use of lay preachers "under the supervision and with the co-operation of the pastor;" and finally the diligent prosecution of a work already in progress, namely, the apportionment of the city into districts, and the assignment of a district to each church for its religious care, by which "the religious condition of every family should be known, and not a child unconnected with any Sabbath-school should remain unsought."

Desirous of seeing the particular method employed by Dr. Adams to sharpen *his* tools, your correspondent went to his church on Sunday afternoon, the time appointed for "renewal of the covenant." It was natural to expect, on such an occasion, some of those pathetic appeals to the sensibilities for which Dr. Adams's books are famous. But nothing of the sort appeared. As far as one could judge from a single sermon, the speaker seemed to think fear the most effective stimulus to his saints as well as to his "impenitent sinners." He took for his text a passage from Scripture containing the word "covenant." His sermon commenced with an allusion to the famous "dark day," a time within the memory of some of his hearers, and traditionally known to all, when noonday was veiled by a darkness like that of evening. As there was no obvious cause for this phenomenon, many jumped to the conclusion that the day of judgment and the destruction of the world were at hand. And Dr. Adams triumphantly declared that some who had previously boasted that they could not be terrified into religion were overcome by this unusual occurrence, and sought forthwith for such assurance of safety as the church could give them.

What use, think you, did the Reverend Doctor make of the dark day? He reminded his hearers that something of the same sort in kind, only less in degree, an unexplained darkness shortly after noon-day, had occurred the very last week. *That* might have been the precursor of the final judgment after which the eternal state of each soul would be unchangeably fixed. *What if it had been so?* Where would now be those members of that church who had been unfaithful to their church-"covenant?" He charged them all to remember (the faithful as well as the unfaithful ones) that their depravity was no less "total" than formerly, and that each of them deserved eternal condemnation as much now as before his conversion. He brought to their re membrance Christ's description of the last judgment, and asked if they knew the one point of distinction between those on the right and those on the left hand. He would tell them what it was. It was that those on the right hand had been "in covenant" with God, and had been *faithful* to their "covenant." An opportunity was now to be given to all the members of that church (and especially should those seize it who had fallen into the "sinful customs and vanities of the world") to renew their covenant;" and those members of the Essex street church who desired to do so were then requested to stand up, in sign of such renewal, while the church covenant was read.

Among the duties implied in this renewal of covenant (Dr Adams said) one was very important, the obligation not to "disturb the peace of the church." The point here intended will be plain enough to all who remember the faithful testimony borne by a few members of Dr. Adams's church, many years ago, against the complicity of that church and its pastor with slavery. Earnest discussions upon that subject were held in many of the church meetings, in spite of the opposition of the pastor and a majority of the members. The latter, however, triumphed, and the efforts of the faithful reprovers were ineffectual. Some of them thereupon renounced their membership with a church so corrupt, and left it, shaking off the dust of their feet; and others were driven off by excommunication. Since then, I believe, the members of the Essex street church have been able to cry to each other "Peace! peace!" as far as the agitation of that subject is concerned; and now the renewers of the "covenant" are fairly warned that they are not to bother the brethren with any talk about "rights" for the Southern freedmen, except their right to receive assistance to get to Liberia, and tracts to read while on the way there.

I close by noting three things in the transactions above described as worthy of special attention, namely:—the impudence of South-side Adams in giving, in open church, an utterly false version of the letter and spirit of the parable of Jesus respecting the last judgment, and the expressed determining cause of the distinction there made; the impudence of the Council in so disregarding Scripture and reason as to call our Sunday's "God's Sabbaths," and Parson Adams's meeting-house "God's Sanctuary;" and the fact that henceforward, in Boston, not merely those flies are to be caught which go by their own act into the net, but spiders are to district the city, and crawl about all parts of it, visiting the flies in their homes, and pestering them with the monthly or quarterly invitation—"Will you walk into my parlor?" **North.**

LETTER FROM MRS. GAGE.

Lambertville, N. J., March 18, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Dear Sir: Three times since I wrote my last on the 20th of February—that day memorable forever for the Veto of President Johnson to the "Freedmen's Bureau Bill"—have I sat myself down to pen a letter for The Standard; aye, and I have penned it, too; but when done, it fell so far short of the "situation" that I cast it aside as unworthy the day and hour; and with folded hands waited and prayed for inspiration to lift me to a higher plane.

Never, since the fall of Sumter, have I felt so much like saying, with Old John Brown, "The best thing they can do with me is to hang me."

By this I mean, that if our nation, as a nation, has not yet seen, heard and felt enough of the horrors of slavery and its consequences, as they have come home to us in the last five years, nothing will arouse us to a full realization of its enormities, but just such a terrible crusade as "Viator" foreshadowed in his last.

Let them drive the Radicals out of Congress at the point of the bayonet; hang the traitors, "Sumner, Stevens and Phillips," lest they assassinate our immaculate President; expatriate Ben. Wade, Wilson, Julian, Grimes, Washburne and Boutwell and all the rest. What then? "Good enough for them!" the populace will cry; "hurrah! treason shall be made odious."

And why not, good people of these United States? Have we not been hanging, whipping, torturing, feathering, beating, knocking down and stabbing, in Congress and out of it, these eighty years or more, to keep that glorious Constitution inviolate, about which all this trouble is being made? If one could only have the exact number of human souls counted out that have been bought and sold, that have been whipped and tortured, that have been stoned and murdered, black and white, to preserve in its original form "that Constitution," which "we, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" did ordain and establish, what a sight the figures would make.

Yet the President asserts, that in "the future, *as in the past* (the italics are my own), *we* shall endeavor, in good faith, to make the administration of the affairs of Government conform to the Constitution in its letter and spirit."

Secretary Seward says, "there is not a rebel in the Republic," and our radical men seem not unwilling to compromise all the principles fought for and died for in this war, not yet ended, by voting a whole race out of political existence, by making *white male* suffrage alone the basis of representation!

Now, I am a woman, and never had any privileges except such as *white male voters* chose to give me. Still, so long as I counted one and paid my taxes, I was something. But now, these lawgivers seem to have come to the conclusion—which in Judge Taney was so obnoxious—that neither "black men nor women have any rights that white male voters are bound to respect" (except as it suits them), and seem intent upon taking away even the one pebble under my feet—the privilege of being counted.

Yet, Charles Sumner and all the rest, down to President Johnson, insist that "taxation without the right of representation is tyranny," and say it, too, in Washington, in the halls of Congress, with loud voices, before hundreds, black and white, men and women, who are and have been taxed all their lives, yet never permitted to give a vote.

Need we wonder at things as they are? Need we wonder that members mouth the words "Justice," "Liberty," "Equal Rights," "Equal privileges before the law," and yet only understand them as they apply to "white male citizens?" That is precisely what has been done in the past. And they who can still ignore the existence of half the human race, and fail to count them as a part of the people; who can continue to tax, fine, imprison and hang without their own consent, the mothers that bore them, and the wives that share their toil, may be expected to make laws that will shame the nation and set all ideas of righteousness and truth at defiance.

"As ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," does not mean women and negroes. It never did, and of course it does not now, except to a very few. To more than it once did, has it come to be applicable to "male citizens, without distinction of race or color." But the male citizen, though himself a native born African, just shaken out of the chains, neck-yokes, gags and clamps, and scarred o'er and o'er with the slave-driver's whip, rarely acknowledges that justice and liberty are the inherent rights of woman; nor can he be convinced if he has transplanted himself from South Carolina to Bunker hill, and "stands erect, looking up," that the "self-evident fact that all men were created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are those of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," can by any possibility mean any class of humanity, except such as grow beards and wear bifurcated garments.

Well, after all, who is to blame for this state of things? Have we, women of the North, any right to complain? Who taught these men to forget us? "Men are what their mothers made them." And until woman can understand and appreciate freedom herself, she should not murmur at any lot assigned her by the man she has educated to be her master and lawgiver.

I am impressed to believe that a resolution or amendment to the Constitution, brought forward and passed to-day, by a two-thirds vote in both Houses, or unanimously (as was Clara Barton's appropriation bill for further search of the missing soldiers), to return all the freedmen to their former status of slavery, would not so astound and distress the women of this nation, as to have the right of suffrage extended to all persons in the United States of 21 years of age, without distinction of race, sex, or color.

We must sound deeper and drive our stakes for freedom down to the solid rock of universal "liberty, equality and fraternity," where there shall be neither bond nor free, male nor female, but all one in that great law of love, which should be the letter and spirit of the law of the land—"equal rights before the law, without regard to race, sex, or color. F. D. Gage.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, March 18, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The closing lecture of the Course hitherto noticed in this correspondence was delivered by the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, on last Thursday evening. It was a fitting conclusion of the series, so admirably successful in every respect, so creditable to the enterprise of the Association of colored people, and so instructive in the most advanced opinions concerning the great questions that agitate the hour. A uniformity of sentiment has prevailed throughout, radical and uncompromising, with no conditions but justice, no covenant but humanity, no bounds but perfect liberty, and utterly at variance with the policy of the "poor white" who accidentally occupies the Presidential chair.

Philadelphia's noted champion of political liberty drew together a vast concourse that filled Concert Hall to overflowing. Enthusiasm glowed with its intensest fervor, and it was beautiful to witness the pervading interest shown on this brilliant occasion, and the anxiety to hear our eloquent Representative. After the usual and ever appreciated performance by the "Black Swan," the orator was introduced in stirring words of laudation and regard by Robert Purvis, Esq., who spoke of him as an unswerving devotee of the principles of Freedom and of Equal Rights, battling with all the earnestness of a true patriot and philanthropist. He further remarked that the legal fact of the emancipation of the slaves in this country, is, at present, to all practical purposes, a mere mockery. The Slave Power is not subdued. Nor is the North either regenerated or converted. But we yet believe that this Government, founded upon universal freedom and universal justice, will, in the language of the immortal saint, Abraham Lincoln, have, under Heaven, a new birth of Freedom, as a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and it shall not perish from the earth. To this end may I not congratulate you, that, although our self-appointed Moses has utterly failed to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious prototype, the Moses of old, we have a Congress that is true to God and to humanity. And among that assemblage I know of no one who has a stronger claim upon our gratitude than Judge Kelley.

The applause that greeted this gentleman upon rising from his seat was like a sudden outbreak of wild and frenzied tumult. Cheer followed cheer in the general uproar, mingled with a chaos of plaudits from the impassioned throng, whose paroxysm of ecstacy defied all restraint. The thrilling excitement was long continued, and the astonished Congressman seemed petrified with bewilderment. Order reigned at last, and he was able to be heard, saying—I am not only penetrated, but overwhelmed, by this reception. I thank you for it, for it will strengthen me when I return to the post—I was about to say, of danger, but will only say—of duty.

He then proceeded with the delivery of his noble address on the "Dangers and Duties of the hour," which commanded patient attention, elicited profound interest and commended itself to generous and thoughtful consideration.

He began by citing the events that marked the dying hours of the French Republic, and of the revolution that ushered in the Empire. When that revolution was accomplished the army was without generals who loved the Republic more faithfully than Lee and Johnson love ours, and the Assembly was without the officers to bring it to order, or a fearless representative of the people to demand that the Constitution be maintained and treason made odious by the punishment of conspiring traitors.

The American people, he remarked, need apprehend no sudden overthrow of their government like this. Garrett Davis, who aptly illustrates the loyalty which commends men to the confidence of Andrew Johnson, may sound the temper of the people on the subject, and press such a suggestion on the President; rebels and Copperheads may borrow his own seditious language and denounce Congress as an irresponsible "Central Directory;" they who defended Mrs. Surratt and her co-conspirators, who justified the conduct of Wirz, and mourn the martyred Booth, may advise him to adopt this course, but it is not among our dangers. The sources of our anxieties are more subtle. What we have to fear is not the change in the form of our Government, but infidelity to its principles by those who administer it. That which violence and open assault cannot accomplish is sometimes achieved by fraud and deception. A subtle though narrow intellect, an elastic conscience, intense egotism, and the control of almost boundless patronage, make a combination that cannot be despised in any controversy.

The people understand that the contest now prevailing is not between Congress and the Executive, but is between the Executive and themselves. The attempt of the President is to coerce the popular will. Of the result I have no doubt. They who have involved themselves in three thousand millions of debt, and maintained fierce war until there was one dead in every house, will not fail now to maintain that for which they made these sacrifices.

The lecturer examined the career of the President during the time he acted with that party for which his affinities are now more powerful than his patriotism. He also referred to his conduct and remarks while Military Governor of Tennessee, in order to ascertain what were the pledges upon which the people nominated and elected him, and how far his manner of redeeming them justifies popular confidence in his honor and veracity. Many of his prominent acts were noticed, and from his speeches extracts were read, most of them being now familiar to us all, showing how determined he seemed to be in his opposition to traitors, his abhorrence of treason, and his concern for the triumph of freedom and the welfare of the colored race. Every one is aware of the faithlessness of this man to his many pledges, and as a fearful commentary on the untrustworthiness of his most sacred assurances, Judge Kelley read a recent letter he had received from Gov. Brownlow. I will give a few extracts from that letter, enough to show its tenor. Gov. Brownlow says—"When I put the President in nomination at Baltimore for the Vice-Presidency, I felt that he had so thoroughly committed himself to the Union cause, and had been so badly treated by the rebels, it was impossible for him ever to get round to them again; but I give him up as lost to the Union party, and as the man who is to head the rebels and Democrats. Every rebel in all this country, every McClellan man, and every ex-guerilla chief are loud and enthusiastic in praise of the President. The men who, but a few months since, were cursing him for an Abolitionist and traitor, and wishing him executed, are now for executing all who dare to oppose his policy, or even doubt its success. There is twice the amount of bitterness and intolerance in the South to-day, towards the Union and everything Northern, than there was at the time of Lee's surrender. * * * The most popular men in the largest portion of Tennessee, to-day, are the men most distinguished for their hostility to the North. * * * The same is true of the entire South, *only more so*. In a word they are resolved on breaking up the Government. * * * * The Southern heart is rapidly being fired to deeds of war, and all this, and more, as I believe, has been occasioned by the mistakes of the President."

In view of the statements of Gov. Brownlow, and its corroborations borne to us by every mail from the South, the speaker asked, may I inquire whether Andrew Johnson is in his true place, "if traitors should take a back seat in the work of restoration?" In view of his perfidious abandonment of the Union men of the South, do not his denunciations of Congress remind you of Louis Napoleon's cry that the Congress of France had become a hot-bed of plots and conspiracies? And has he, under the tuition of his new friends, been studying the history of revolutionary France, that he denounces the joint Committee on Reconstruction, composed as it is of fifteen of the purest statesmen of the country, as an "irresponsible central directory?"

A second passage from French history was cited, aiming to show, in the successive steps that led to the overthrow of the Republic, how intriguing Bonaparte was, and what a power he found in dissimulation, which enabled him to destroy the Republic he had sworn to protect.

From history or his own experience, continued the speaker, Andrew Johnson has learned that dissimulation alone will enable him to execute his purposes. He aims to put this country into the hands of the impenitent rebels of the South by professing to adhere to the Union party till he shall have divided its counsels and wrought its overthrow. If "mercy without justice be a crime," who shall absolve Andrew Johnson from the consequences of his great transgressions? For is not that mercy without justice, which, in violation of the express provisions of law, has restored to bloody-handed traitors immense landed estates, the titles to which were absolutely vested in the United States, and, therefore, beyond his lawful control? Tested by his own standards, you may be disposed to ask wherein his guilt differs from that of the "Stern Statesman" whose exultation at the triumph of his beloved South is for yet a little while restrained by the strong walls of Fortress Monroe?

A long and interesting account was given by Judge Kelley, of two or three interviews he had with Andrew Johnson before and after he became President, interlinked with some notice of similar experiences of others, interested, like himself, in the paramount issues of the time. The position of the President as gleaned from the concurrent testimonies thus presented, compared and contrasted with his subsequent action, exhibit a mournful example of treachery and dissimulation, altogether disgraceful to the head of a great nation. The speaker showed how he had failed to redeem any one of his public pledges; how he had entrapped or alienated scores of gentlemen that reposed their faith in him; how they had been deceived, betrayed and chagrined.

But why, asked Judge Kelley, trace so tortuous and shameless a course? Could I do so with safety to my country, I would gladly strive to bury in oblivion the unblushing tergiversations of our Chief Magistrate. But the people should understand their President's character and purposes, for it is against themselves that he is endeavoring to excite them.

The lecturer closed his address by declaring that the Thirty-ninth Congress will maintain the Constitution in its integrity. It will do what it can, in spite of the veto power, to protect the public faith and credit. It will invest the Executive with ample power to protect and avenge every loyal man in the country. It will strive to guarantee to each State a Republican form of Government. The crisis of our country—perhaps the last great strain our institutions are to feel—will be in the election of members to the Fortieth Congress. Neither Mr. Johnson nor the Mephistopheles of the State Department will waive any effort to give success to "my policy;" but the people, true to Union and Liberty at whatever cost of watchfulness and labor, will thwart their machinations.

The lecturer took his seat amid the applause of the admiring audience, when cheers were zealously given for the Thirty-ninth Congress, after which a like compliment was proposed for the Radicals. Judge Kelley stepped forward and remarked: "That is simply repeating the same thing, for there is not a live man in Congress who is not a Radical." o.

UNQUALIFIED SUFFRAGE—ITS TENDENCY.

"In the recent debate in the British Parliament on the Reform question, the member for Hull, Mr. Clay, presented a proposition for a basis of suffrage, which excited much attention, but which the Ministry did not feel at liberty to commit themselves upon.

"He urged that the franchise should be given to all who could read, write, and pass a certain examination in arithmetic, and who possessed a certain small amount of property. In some respects Mr. Clay's measure was not so broad as that expected from the Ministry; for a thirty dollar rental must include some who can neither read, write, nor pass an arithmetic examination, though, on the other hand, many might pass such an examination who did not occupy even a cottage as a tenant.

"The proposition which has met with at least a respectful consideration in England, is a straw showing how strong the drift is now in Great Britain toward a wide, popular suffrage.

"The current on this side, among persons who think, is at present in the opposite direction."

The above is from the New York *Times;* but it must have been taking a "Rip Van Winkle" nap, not to know that since our existence as a nation, there never has been such a general and earnest agitation in favor of the extension of suffrage, as during the last year. It is enough to make any citizen of the Republic blush, to see an assertion like the above in one of our New York journals, admitting that while Great Britain is proposing a more liberal policy to her subjects, we, who declared "all men equal" a century ago, are drifting in the opposite direction. Mr. "*Times*," you are evidently behind the times in this country. Have you not seen even the weather-cocks of public sentiment slowly turning their faces toward more extended suffrage? Have you not read our leading periodicals, political and religious journals, such as the *Radical, Tribune,* and *Independent?* Have you never heard of Charles Sumner, Gratz Brown, Trumbull, Wade, Stevens, Boutwell, Chief-Justice Chase, Beecher, Cheever, Chapin, Garrison, Phillips, Gerritt Smith, Frederick Douglass, that you dare say—

"Almost all reflecting men are beginning to see that the whole matter of suffrage is a pure question of expediency. It can be given or withheld, or limited, according as the best interests of the State demand. The claim to it, is not like the claim to liberty or legal justice, *a natural right.*"

No, no. Our "thinking minds" are one by one taking the highest ground in favor of universal suffrage as a natural right. The grandest speeches made in Congress, during this session, have been from this stand point.

There is no talk about restricting the right of suffrage in this country, nor any new qualifications proposed. We have always had limited suffrage based on intelligence, property, color, and sex; but the nation is seriously debating a broader ground. The Republican party is now demanding the ballot for our very lowest class of citizens,—those just emancipated from chattel slavery,—who have neither property nor learning. Surely Mr. Clay is not towing the British Parliament more rapidly into the harbor of safety, than we are drifting there, with sails all set.

After talking quite gloomily of the working of republican institutions, its many evils and curses, the *Times* further says—

"Even the intelligence-suffrage is not a perfect basis; but the science of statesmanship is to discover the best thing practicable, and as this has been tried in this country, with good results, we hope to see the experiment carried out."

There is no perfect basis of Government, oh, ye of little faith, but equality. Our statesmanship has exhausted its resources in trying to make caste and class legislation successful. This has been the one oft-tried experiment in every form of Government, from a Despotism to a Republic. When we shall have ignored privileged orders, and made all men equal before the law, then, and not till then, can we sever the chain that binds us to the failures of the past. E. C. S.

A WORD TO THE FRIENDS OF THE "RIGHT WAY."

The cost of 60,000 copies of the *Right Way* is $1,000, per week, exclusive of postage. This includes only the cost of paper, printing and mailing. In aid of this work, we get about $150 per week from those who receive the paper; about as much more from advertisements; and a few thousand dollars have been contributed by wealthy friends from patriotic motives.

But the deficiency between the cost and receipts is so large, that it will not be possible to continue the publication of the paper on its present basis as a gift to its readers.

I therefore propose to send the *Right Way* to subscribers at the rate of forty cents per copy for six months, or eighty cents per year, exclusive of postage; or fifty cents for six months, or one dollar per year, postage pre-paid, at the option of the subscriber. Copies for gratuitous distribution through my Agency may be subscribed for on the same terms.

All orders will be recorded; and, if a sufficient number is received to warrant the continuance of the paper, it will be announced in the issue for the 24th of March, and remittances will be expected on receipt of the first number in April.

Subscribers will please be particular to write in full their name, town, county, and State.

George L. Stearns.

Boston, Feb. 24, 1866.

Reconstructed Rebels.—At the post office at Gordonsville, Va., the other day, a well-dressed lady wanted the clerk to place a stamp on her letter, and produced at the window a neat port-monnaie, requesting the clerk to take out a proper amount of currency to pay for the stamp, saying with "honest pride" that so far her hands had "never been contaminated with the Yankee rags, and she wasn't going to begin." Silly as this is, it is one of the straws which show which way the wind is blowing.

JAMAICA.

A Special Correspondent of the New York *Tribune* writes as follows under date Kingston, Ja., March 6, 1866:

The Royal Commission has been sitting now for 30 days, and a large number of witnesses have been examined. The witnesses are from all classes of the population and all ranks of society—magistrates, clergymen, planters, storekeepers, laborers; officers of the army, officers of the navy and volunteer officers; negroes, whites and browns; people residing in the recently disturbed district, and others from the adjacent parishes and from distant parts of the island, have all appeared before the Commissioners to give testimony. In taking evidence, the Commissioners have confined themselves to two main points: 1st, The disturbances at Morant Bay last October, and the measures adopted by the authorities for the suppression of the outbreak; and 2d, The existence of an alleged plot among the blacks for the extermination of the white and brown people of the island. You will remember that the justification set up by Gov. Eyre and his advocates for the hangings, and shootings, and whippings which marked the late reign of terror in this island, is that the negroes were ripe for revolt all over the island—that, in fact, there was a wide-spread conspiracy among them to destroy the whites and the colored people of the colony, and that it was absolutely necessary, therefore, to strike a terrible blow and crush out the rebellion in its incipiency. As to the first point, the testimony of parties residing at or near to the scene of the disturbances, and of those who actively participated in the movements of the forces and the doings of the military and civil authorities during the troubles, would be sufficient for all purposes; but with regard to the second it was found necessary to summon witnesses from all parts of Jamaica. You will be pleased to learn that the evidence, instead of supporting Gov. Eyre's statements as to the perilous condition of affairs here six months ago, goes strongly to show that, at the period when the disturbances took place in St. Thomas in the East, the spirit and deportment of the black people in all other parts of Jamaica were of a most peaceable and loyal character. The examinations under the first-named head have brought out some startling facts as to the atrocities committed upon the blacks. In some instances they were tied together in couples, standing back to back, and then shot. In numerous instances men were cruelly flogged first, and afterward hanged. Scores of married women were flogged upon their bare persons, and in some cases brass wire was twisted into the whip-cord with which they were flaggellated. Most of these horrible cruelties were perpetrated under the eye of a brute of a Provost-Marshal named Gordon Ramsay—a native white of Jamaica, and an old Crimean soldier—against whom affidavits have been filed within the last few days, and who is now in the bands of the magistrates undergoing an examination preliminary to his being put on his trial for murder. He was a police officer in Spanish Town when the outbreak took place at Morant Bay, and was sent down to that place by Gov. Eyre to act as Provost-Marshal.

As to Eyre himself, the evidence is, if possible, getting stronger against him every day, especially with regard to the execution of George William Gordon. The most damaging revelation yet made on this point, has been the evidence of Brig.-Gen. Nelson, in command of the troops at Morant Bay at the time of Gordon's execution, that when the sentence of the Court-Martial was communicated to him, he sent off a messenger to Eyre informing him of the result of the trial, and that the Governor wrote him a "private letter," telling him to let the sentence be put into execution. Upon the cross-examination of the General, it turned out that the true reason why Gordon was not executed until 36 hours after his trial, was that Nelson, doubtful of the character of the whole proceeding, was desirous of giving Gordon an opportunity of a reprieve from the Governor. When he received the Governor's letter, giving an expression of "his entire concurrence" with those proceedings, Nelson at once ordered the sentence to be carried out, and poor Gordon was hurried into eternity. The ex-Governor, I hear, is looking very haggard and care-worn—and well he might.

It is not expected that the Commissioners will conclude their labors in the examination of witnesses before the end of the present month. They will then, I hear on good authority, visit different parts of the island, with the view of seeing with their own eyes the condition of the blacks in the rural districts. This accomplished, they will return to England without loss of time.

The *Times* correspondent here—a Mr. Clifford, a London barrister—has got himself into very bad odor with the colored, or brown, people, in consequence of his having stated in one of his letters that from all he had learned since his arrival in Jamaica he believed that some of the browns were anxious for the success of the "rebels," and that had the blacks succeeded in their "plans," these parties would have joined them. The thing is absurd, but the colored people look at the animus of the writer, and the *Times* is now in great disfavor with them, although some time back, like the whites, they were prepared to swear by that journal of doubtful renown.

Those blood-thirsty savages, the Maroons, have just presented an address to Gov. Eyre, in which they express their "deep concern and dismay that a portion of the British public have been dealing unfairly" with him, and offer him their "best wishes" in his "hour of trial." "We all feel persuaded," they say, "you have discharged the duties committed to your charge with zeal, *humanity* and *Christian forbearance.* These are the people, it will be remembered, who hunted the poor blacks of St. Thomas in the East, like bloodhounds, and shot hundreds of them "in the bush." Gov. Eyre, of course, thanked them for their "sympathy," and "rejoices to think" that one of the results of the investigation now being held will be "to place before her Majesty, in its true light, the able and zealous service rendered by the loyal and faithful Maroons!"

ANNA DICKINSON AGAIN RAMPANT.

We are indebted to the New York *World* for the following, and give it as it appears in the columns of thato jurnal, thus:

Miss Anna Dickinson, dressed, according to the loyal *Tribune*, "in gold bracelets, white collar, curls, and a green watered silk dress," made a speech in Chicago recently. A large audience were present, and the female Sumner spoke in substance as follows:

"My theme to-night is one before which greater souls might well hesitate—a theme far-reaching as time, and concerning ourselves and our posterity most closely. A few months ago we were all bowed down in sorrow for the death of one who had showed himself most worthy of respect and love, though perhaps I have said hard things of him when I thought hard things of him. View it as we will, it was slavery which struck him down, and it was we who loved freedom who were struck down with him. *We doubly lament his loss when we see his successor strike hands with his assassins.* Lincoln was a type of the man grown in a land where freedom only is known. A fresh generation of men has been produced in the West, untrammelled by dead weights and traditions. A race rough-hewn, yet a lasting corner-stone for humanity, capable of supporting the greatest and the most finished edifice. Lincoln was the embodiment of the new man of the West; not a great mind, but a true, an honest and faithful man, the embodiment of American justice and American liberty. On the contrary, Andrew Johnson is the outgrowth of American Slavery, which elevates all that is base and enervates all that is noble in man, a system which culminates in a government of thieves and an army of ruffians, the only system which could have produced a man who could shake hands with the murderer of his friend and predecessor. Booth was but the hand which struck the blow which was guided by just those rebel minds of the South who now strike hands with the President. Those now favored with the hospitalities of the White House are those who planned that murder, which other hands committed. Every rebel paper, North and South, now supports the man who was elected with the man whom just those papers maligned as an imbecile and a usurper. Booth, the rebels of the South and the rebels of the North were of one mind. All posterity will write of Abraham Lincoln, 'Martyred by a treasonable democracy. John Booth murdered the President's body; Andrew Johnson strikes at his soul, as manifested in his works.' Yet he declares that he is following closely in the steps of Abraham Lincoln. Truly, he must be credulous if he expects us to believe his words. He has come before the people within the past few weeks with a paper, by which he attempts to undo his predecessor's work, and gives his reasons for vetoing the Freedmen's Bureau bill, as follows: 'Because there is no immediate necessity for such a thing.' Yet it is no new thing, but has been long in force, and we now seek to make it a law. He then objects to it as a military measure, when the war has been closed. Yet he says that the old bill has a year to stand, because he has not yet declared peace. He objects to this bill because it vests in irresponsible parties great power, which will be liable to great abuse, and there will be no appeal to a higher court. He forgets that this law was made to protect black men from the abuses of irresponsible power in courts from which there is no appeal for them. Again, he objects to the bill because it is in no way limited in duration. This he knows to be, to speak plainly, a deliberate lie. He knows that its authority will cease when States give black men their rights. He objects because it will make the whole black race paupers. The President knows this to be false. The bill provides only for the support of the old, the helpless, the decrepit, who, without help, must miserably perish. The President knows that to-day there are 7,000 men in Virginia to whom President Lincoln gave land abandoned by the rebel owners, and confiscated for the loyal blacks; and he says that to leave them in possession of these lands would be to rob the rightful owners! He clamors against the expense. To give $11,000,000 for the protection of freedom would be extravagance. Eight hundred millions have been expended for the support, the extension, and the protection of slavery. We should be willing to give something now for freedom. He declares that these black people will be protected because their labor is needed. We always have known the poor whites of the South to be the most ignorant people in the world; but this poor white of the South caps the climax of ignorance. The laws of 'reconstructed' Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, and other Southern States protect these black people by making slaves of them again, by re-establishing the lash, the stocks, and the whipping-post. Black men and women can be hung in the South for forty-eight different offences. And this is protection! Again he declares that self-interest will induce the rebels to treat the blacks justly. He forgets that hatred is often stronger than self-interest. But, says the President, there is no representation of the South in Congress which would make laws for the South. He says the principle, 'no taxation without representation,' should not thus be violated. Does he forget that there are four million men in the South to whom even he does not propose to grant representation? Why should not they have their power, their representation? Why should not Frederick Douglass have that place in our councils which his talents would adorn? A comparison of his speech in defense of the rights of his race, with the reply of the President, would certainly incline us to consider the black as the superior race. The President claims to be the representative of the people of the South. Who are the people of the South? The 200,000 whites of South Carolina, or the 400,000 blacks? Let him represent the loyal black as well as the rebel white. But the President fears that the granting of the right of suffrage to the blacks will induce a war of races. He forgets that the blacks voted in 1788 in every State save South Carolina; that in many Southern States for many years the elections were often decided by the vote of the free blacks. What makes war? Oppression. What brings peace? Justice. Yet the President has the face to say that we can have peace only at the cost of injustice and oppression. He declares that the Republican party are traitors. If we judge from their leaders, we must confess the charge. He calls Sumner, Stevens, and Phillips, the great, the noble, the true supporters of liberty, traitors. Let us see to what all this drifts. Are we ready to strike hands with the assassins of the South? I cannot believe, in view of our labors, our trials, our battlings, our sufferings in behalf of liberty, that we will so soon give the lie to our past lives. The battle-worn soldiers, maimed and disabled, whom I have seen in your streets, call upon you to make good the work for which they have shed their blood. And the dead speak from the burial ground at Arlington, where the rebel leader's lands are planted thickly with the graves of thirteen thousand soldiers who died for liberty, and from many a field of glory and of victory their voices are heard. Rome was saved by the sacrifice of its most precious possession—a young man covered with honors and rich with promise; so here in our midst we have seen the great gulf of rebellion yawning, and our young manhood plunged downward to terrible yet sublimest death, to save their country from destruction. We hear their voices speaking to us now: 'Finish the work that has fallen from our nerveless hands. Let no clank of chain and of manacle disturb our rest.'"

CONGRESS.

On Monday, 19th, in the Senate, Mr. Sumner presented the petitions of citizens of New York, earnestly asking that no State that rebelled shall be admitted as a governing partner in the Union, without adequate security for the future. Referred to the Committee on Reconstruction.

Mr. Sumner also presented the petition of citizens of Jefferson County, Pennsylvania, asking for an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting any State from making distinction in civil rights among the naturalized citizens of the United States or among persons born on American soil, on account of race or color. Referred to the Committee on Reconstruction.

Mr. Wilson presented the petition of several colored men, who represent that they were once the slaves of George T. W. Custis, who in his will freed them and provided for their support from the property left by him. They ask that a portion of the Arlington estate be set apart for their benefit. The petition was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The House spent most of the day on Mr. McCulloch's Loan bill. The New York *Tribune's* special correspondent reports upon it as follows:

The debate this afternoon upon the Finance bill was exceedingly exciting, and an unusually large house being present, it was at first believed that enough votes had been secured to reconsider and pass the bill. The first vote, refusing to table the motion to reconsider, stood 70 to 78. Gen. Garfield had promised Mr. Broomall permission to make a short speech and explain his position. Mr. Broomall wanted it recommitted, as did several others. He used his time to the best advantage, doing the bill material damage. There were one or two more who had voted against tabling the motion to reconsider who were against the bill, and who wanted it recommitted to the Committee; but it was still thought there were enough votes to pass the bill. Then a few minutes were given to Mr. Boutwell, who made a terrible assault upon the bill. His eloquence entranced the House, and it was soon evident that the bill would be defeated if allowed to come to a direct vote, as several Republicans declared their intention not to vote for it who had been for it all the time. Mr. Garfield made a few remarks; but it was evident that he considered his case was lost, and when he demanded the previous question on the final passage, the House refused to sustain it by a vote that showed clearly there was no hope but to recommit, and take time to try and rally the forces that Boutwell, Hooper, Stevens, Broomall and Conkling had shattered and demoralized. After some parley, Mr. Morrill waived any further attempt to pass it, and consented to its recommittal, which was then unanimously agreed to.

The speech of Mr. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, as reported in the journals, was as below:

Mr. Boutwell said that no one was more unwilling than he to oppose a measure reported by a Committee of the House, following the recommendation of a department of the Government. But he was obliged to maintain the position which the House had already taken. The question was: Ought the House to confide to any executive officer the authority to diminish the circulation of non-interest-bearing legal-tender notes? In view of the financial condition of the country, the House could reach but one conclusion, and that was, that the bill introduced this morning by his colleague (Mr. Hooper) ought to receive the support of the House and of the country. He would say to the Republican side of the House, that this was not the time to accept gifts from the Greeks, whatever it might be pretended they were. It was now a matter of honor as well as of right, that those on his (the Republican) side of the House, representing a majority of the loyal people of the country, should define and limit the financial policy of the Administration. We had now four hundred and fifty millions of dollars in non-interest-bearing currency, two hundred and sixty millions of dollars in National Bank currency, which might reach its maximum of three hundred millions, and one hundred and eighty millions of dollars legal-tender notes, bearing interest—amounting to some nine hundred millions, in that condition of things. Gold was to-day 128⅜, while last Friday morning it was 130⅜. Those on his side of the house who objected to the measure of the Committee of Ways and Means, proposed that the currency should be reduced to the amount of one hundred and eighty millions, by returning the interest-bearing legal-tender notes, which would be a reduction of twenty per cent. If the price of gold followed the volume of the circulating medium—a proposition which he did not admit—gold should stand at 105 when Congress reassembles next December. With the reduction of the currency, he thought that was as much as the business of the country could bear. If, in addition to that, the Secretary of the Treasury should reduce the non-bearing-interest circulation to the amount of a hundred millions, three-fourths of the mining and manufacturing establishments in the Northern portions of the country would be suspended, and it would not be a question whether laborers should be able to earn a dollar and a half or two dollars a day, but it would be a question of work and subsistence of 8,000 of people whom he represented in one of the cities of Massachusetts. He, therefore, should be false to his trust, if he hesitated that a limit should be fixed beyond which the Secretary of the Treasury should not go. He thought that that limit should be fixed at four hundred and fifty millions of National Bank currency. If that reduction were made, he supposed that specie would come to par. Such a vast power as was here proposed to be given to the Secretary of the Treasury, had never been demanded by or conferred on any man in a civilized country within historical times. He would consent to no such proposition, and yet he felt bound to say that there was no man whose general financial policy he more heartily supported than the Secretary of the Treasury; and he should regard it as a calamity to have that officer's place occupied by any other man whom it was his fortune to know. But, nevertheless, he felt that the conceding to him of such a power, even though he might not use it, would give the people the right to apprehend that at some moment, either by him or by his successor, this power might be exercised. It would be a constant menace on the business interests of the country. He therefore appealed to the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means to consent to a recommittal of the subject without instructions, and let the judgment of the Committee be taken after the debate which had taken place. If the Committee insisted that there should be no recommittal of the bill, he saw no course left but to vote against it.

In the Senate on Tuesday, Mr. Morrill introduced a joint resolution from the Committee on the District of Columbia, appropriating $25,000 for the relief of destitute colored people of the District, and asked for its immediate consideration.

Mr. Saulsbury moved to amend by making the expenditure applicable to the cases of destitute white people.

The Chair said that the resolution was not yet open to amendment. The question was upon its immediate consideration.

Mr. Saulsbury objected to its immediate consideration, but subsequently withdrew his objection.

Mr. Morrill said there was an absolute necessity for this appropriation. It was dictated by considerations of public health and safety, as well as by feelings of charity. There were 1,500 destitute colored people in this city, and their condition was deplorable. He caused to be read a communication from the Chief of Police of the city detailing the condition of the colored population in certain districts, and expressing the fear that unless something was done soon for their relief, disease and pestilence would be generated among the unfortunate blacks.

Mr. Saulsbury offered an amendment, appropriating $25,000 for distribution among the destitute white people of the District.

Mr. Morrill said that Mr. Saulsbury was paying a very poor compliment to the white people of the district.

Mr. Saulsbury said that there were hundreds and thousands of white people in this District who did not know what it is to have meat upon their tables, and who, when they have provided themselves with one meal, do not know where another will come from.

Mr. Willey suggested to Mr. Saulsbury to withdraw his amendment and substitute for it an amendment striking out the word "colored," so as to have the money appropriated for colored and white destitute people alike.

Mr. Saulsbury refused to withdraw his amendment.

The Senate rejected the amendment. The vote on its adoption was Yeas, 3; nays, 34. Yeas, Messrs. Davis, Riddle and Saulsbury.

Mr. Willey then moved the amendment he had suggested to Mr. Saulsbury to strike out the word "colored.

This amendment was also rejected.

Mr. Davis moved as an amendment an additional section authorizing the corporate authorities of this District to find employment for all able-bodied black people now unemployed in the District, the employment to be obtained in the District or elsewhere, and appropriating $5,000 for carrying this provision into effect.

Mr. Kirkwood moved to strike out the word "black." He did not see why white people should not work as well as black people. (Laughter.)

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. Nesmith moved an amendment so as to exclude members of Congress from those for whom the city authorities shall find employment. (Laughter.)

The amendment was not adopted.

The amendment of Mr. Davis was then rejected.

Mr. Saulsbury moved to strike out of the original resolution the provision that the money shall be expended under the direction of the Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, and insert that it shall be expended under the direction of the Mayor of Washington.

The motion was rejected.

The resolution, as reported from the Committee, was then adopted by yeas, 33; nays, 5.

HAVANA—THE SLAVE TRADE.

The following correspondence through the Associated Press, dated Havana, March 15th, shows with what determination the slave trade is still pursued; and evidently not less so, since so many rebel slaveholders have emigrated to that island:

I announced in my last letter the arrival here of the steamer Neptune with the schooner Matilde, with 375 negroes captured from a slave expedition, and that it was reported that 1,572 in all had been captured. The facts are as follows: His excellency Don Francisco Marty, since November last, has received three successive lots of negroes, amounting to 1,200, who were landed near Cape San Antonio, most of whom were sold. Of those on the Matilde, only 275 are considered by the Government legal captures, for 100 were sold to a wealthy planter here, and were on their way to this port with legal papers and permits signed by Gen. Menduina, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Department of Pinar del Rio, the partner of Arguelles. Much indignation is expressed here about these 100 negroes, who are considered as part and parcel of the illegal cargoes; but, according to the Spanish laws, they have been decided to be slaves and delivered over to their owner, the said Marty. The son of the Admiral of the Neptune, who saw these negroes at Cape San Antonio, says those living were in a horrible condition, and the dead were lying unburied on the shore. He counted more than 80 of the latter, who were left as food for the crows.

The Colonial Minister at Madrid sent out in October last a royal decree ordering that all *emancipadoes*, or negroes captured from slave expeditions, now hired out by the Government to private individuals, should be returned to the Government and sent to the island of Fernando Po. This decree was received at a time when hands were needed, and Gen. Dulce was prevailed upon to refrain from immediately putting it in force. Senor Navascuez called the attention of the Spanish Government to the fact, in consequence of which a threatening dispatch was sent to Gen. Dulce, which caused the issue of the famous decree of March 2. But on the 10th inst. a counter-decree rendered that of the 2d null and void. The upshot of all this is that Gen. Dulce sends by the steamer to Cadiz to-morrow his formal resignation, and he has declared that whether it is accepted or not, he shall leave the island. I have this from the best authority.

Proceedings have been commenced in the Supreme Court against the Military Intendant, Senor Galvez, on account of an affair with a negress belonging to Senor Zuasuaba. Senor Aeran, the District-Attorney, is implicated in the affair, which creates no little curiosity on the part of the public.

The Commission which is to go to Madrid to give information as to proposed reforms here is composed in part of the following members: Don Manuel de Armas and Don Manuel Calvo, a slave-dealer of Havana; the Marquis Montero of Matanzas, Don Moralez Lencez of Sagua, Don Nicolas Ascarate of Guinez. The other Commissioners have not yet been chosen.

There has lately been an unusual number of fires throughout the island. The *Diario de la Marina*, the organ of slavery, charges them to the negroes.

Strenuous exertions are being made to revive the slave trade here, which has been declining for some years past; while on the other hand there is a strong movement in favor of the total abolition of slavery in Cuba and Porto Rico.

The steamer Morning Star arrived yesterday from New Orleans, and leaves to-morrow for New York. The Cuba sailed yesterday for New Orleans.

A train on the Havana and Matanzas Railroad was thrown from the track on the 11th and two persons were killed and eight were wounded.

On the next day another accident occurred on the same road near San Felipe, by which five persons lost their lives and 15 were wounded.

On the 10th, the warehouses of Messrs. Acevido, Carrera & Co. and Pena Rodriguez & Co., at Cardenas, were destroyed by fire, supposed to be incendiary.

By an arrival from Santiago de Cuba we learn of the arrival of the French Steamer Caraibe from St. Thomas; also that an American man-of-war flying the pennant of an Admiral, was there—probably the Rhode Island, with Commodore Palmer on board.

At Cape Haytien were the Haytien war-steamer Galatea, the British steamers Aurora and Lily, and the United States gun-boat De Soto.

At this port 60 insurgents were under trial, and it was supposed that 20 of them would be convicted.

The French bark Verena, Capt. Collet, arrived here on the 11th inst. with 225 coolies from Macao. Several other cargoes are to follow.

The British corvette Carmen arrived here on the 12th.

It is reported that the slave-dealers formed a plot to burn down the offices of the *Siglo* (newspaper) on last Monday night. Precautions were taken by Gov. Dulce by which the building was probably saved from destruction.

Arms and Ammunition sent South. — The amount of powder, shot, percussion-caps, cartridges, and guns and pistols shipped from the port of New York to the Southern States during the month of February, 1866, was as follows:

States	*Sporting Powder* lbs.	*Shot* lbs.	*Caps* No.	*Cartridges* No.	*Guns and Pistols* No.
S. Carolina..	2,037	5,545	119,000	19,800	281
N. Carolina..	3,150	4,640	87,500	32,526	190
Texas......	5,920	44,330	530.000	48,624	558
Alabama....	4,653	29,445	340,000	49,000	264
Florida	2,003	15,082	17,000	700	24
Georgia	4,573	44,955	253,500	61,800	542
Mississippi..	362	175	85,000	52,000	219
Virginia.....	4,275	3,585	205,000	13.000	100
Louisiana ...	1,912	32,950	248,000	138,000	1,962
Tennessee...	....	......	1,000	1,450	51
Total..	28,395	168,907	1,866,000	416,900	4,162

The whole amount of powder, shot, etc., shipped to the South from this port from September 26, 1865, when the arms trade was opened, to March 1, 1866, was:

Sporting powder, lbs.	454,212
Blasting powder, lbs.	8,675
Shot, lbs.	2,796,609
Percussion caps, number	43,401,644
Cartridges, number	4,633,256
Guns and pistols	24,234

DIED.

Barnard.—In Kennet Square, Chester county, Pa., on the morning of the 8th of March, Jcanna Pennock Barnard, wife of Vincent Barnard, in her 38th year.

Special Notices.

CRISTADORO'S EXCELSIOR HAIR DYE.

To Art we owe a thousand graces;
Improving Nature no disgrace is.
So, as gray hair don't please the eye,
Use Cristadoro's Matchless Dye.

Sold by druggists and applied by all Hair Dressers.

Brandreth's Pills—Costiveness, Diarrhœa.—They are taken up by the absorbents and carried into the circulation, through which medium they are conveyed to every part of the body.

If the pain affects the joints, a single dose produces remarkable benefit. And the same rule applies to costiveness, diarrhœa and dysentery; though with the last named they may be required night and morning for some days before decided relief is obtained. In affections of the lungs, throat, head and pleurisy, the relief is certain; the excretory organs throw off with ease the phlegm, and the breathing becomes freer. Spasmodic asthma is often cured by a single dose.

Advertisements.

ARTIFICIAL LIMBS

OF EVERY VARIETY OF AMPUTATION.

The [illegible] apparatus for exsections of the arm and leg, ununited [illegible] and shortened limbs, to restore them.

U. S. [illegible] Navy furnished by Commission of Surgeon General U.

Pamphlets and references sent to applicants by

E. D. HUDSON, M.D.,

Clinton Hall, up stairs, Astor Place, New York.

W. W. BROOM'S TEMPLE OF OPINIONS is the only Radical and Independent monthly journal published in New York. Annual Subscription, $2. Published by the American News Co., Nassau st., N. Y. 43 3m.

Miscellaneous Department.

GHOST GLEN.

BY HENRY KENDALL.

"Shut your ears, stranger, or turn from Ghost Glen now,
For the paths are grown over; untrodden by men now—
Shut your ears, stranger!" saith the grey mother, crooning
Her sorcery Runic, when sets the half moon in!

To-night the North-easter goes travelling slowly,
But it never stoops down to that Hollow unholy—
To-night it rolls loud on the ridges red-litten,
But it *cannot* abide in that forest sin-smitten!

For over the pitfall the moondew is thawing.
And, with never a body, two shadows stand sawing!
The wraiths of two sawyers *(step under and under)*,
Who did a foul murder, and were blackened with thunder!

Whenever the storm-wind comes driven and driving,
Through the blood-spattered timber you may see the saw striving—
You may see the saw heaving, and falling, and heaving,
Whenever the sea-creek is chafing and grieving!

And across a burnt body, as black as an adder,
Sits the sprite of a sheep-dog!—was ever sight sadder!
For as the dry thunder splits louder and faster,
This sprite of a sheep-dog howls for its master!

"Oh! count your beads deftly," saith the grey mother, crooning
Her sorcery Runic, when sets the half moon in!
And well may she mutter, for the dark, hollow laughter
You will hear in the sawpits and the bloody logs after!

Ay, count your beads deftly, and keep your ways wary,
For the sake of the Saviour and sweet Mother Mary!
Pray for your peace in these perilous places,
And pray for the laying of horrible faces!

One starts, with a forehead wrinkled and livid,
Aghast at the lightnings, sudden and vivid!
One telleth with curses the gold that they drew there
(Ah! cross your breast humbly) from him whom they slew there!

The stranger who came from the loved—the romantic—
Island that sleeps on the moaning Atlantic;
Leaving behind him patient homes yearning
For the steps in the distance, never returning;—

Who was left in the Forest, shrunken, and starkly
Burnt by his slayers (so men have said darkly);
With the half-crazy sheep-dog, who cowered beside there,
And yelled at the silence, and marvelled, and died there!

Yea, cross your breast humbly, and hold your breath tightly,
Or fly for your life from those shadows unsightly;
From the set staring features (cold, and so young too!),
And the death on the lips that a mother hath clung to.

I tell you, the Bushman is braver than most men,
Who even in daylight doth go through the Ghost Glen!
Although in that Hollow, unholy and lonely,
He sees the dark sawpits and bloody logs only!

CHINESE CUSTOMS.

From Doolittle's "Social Life of the Chinese."

"The feet of girls, usually when about five or six years of age, are compressed by bandaging to prevent their further growth, and to reduce them to the form and appearance so much admired by the rich and literary people of China. For this purpose the foot is extended at the ankle, the fleshy part of the heel is pressed downward and forward, and the entire foot is carefully wound with a long bandage from the ankle to the extremity of the toes and back again. It will be readily understood that this process checks the circulation of the blood, and retards or entirely prevents the farther growth of the foot. The smaller toes are naturally, or rather unnaturally, crowded together, and somewhat bent under the foot. The foot is prevented from spreading out as when the weight of the body is thrown upon it in a state of freedom. It becomes very narrow and tapering to a point at the end of the great toe. The instep becomes unnaturally prominent, and the *os calcis*, or bone which forms the bottom and posterior part of the heel, is somewhat turned downward. The foot, thus compressed, is placed in a short, narrow shoe, tapering to a point; and sometimes a block of wood is used, so supporting the heel that the body seems to stand on tiptoe, the heel being from one to two inches higher than the toes. The heel also extends backward and upward beyond the heel of the shoe, so that a foot really four or five inches long will stand easily in and upon a shoe only three or three and a half inches in length. The ankle remaining nearly of the natural size, and the instep being very prominent, the organs of locomotion present to Western observers a very uncouth appearance.

Usually it requires two or three years, if properly attended to, for the feet to be cramped into the genteel shape. There is no iron or wooden shoe used for compressing the feet, notwithstanding the contrary opinion which is entertained more or less in Western lands. The instruments employed are strips of cloth like narrow bandages. The foot gradually shrinks and shrivels up. When the bandages are removed for the sake of washing the foot or of bandaging tighter, the small toes, after months or years of compressions, are unable to resume their natural appearance and position, but remain cramped up and almost without sensation.

When the process is begun at the proper age, and the bandaging is properly attended to, the heel sometimes comes down to the ground, or rather to the level of the end of the large toe. The heel seems under the process of bandaging to elongate; but when the foot is large, and almost full grown before the compressing of it begins, the heel oftentimes cannot be brought down to a level with the end of the toe. Then a block is put in the shoe under the heel so that the bottom of the block and the end of the toe shall be nearly on the same level when the individual is standing. Really, she walks on her tiptoes and heels. The ankle or instep bulges outward in front.

The genteel shoe for the bandaged foot is about three inches on the sole. Sometimes the shoes are even shorter than three English inches. The toes and the heel are thrust as much as possible into the shoe, and the shoe is then fastened upon the rest of the foot, leaving the bottom portion of the shoe visible. The upper part of the foot is always much larger than the shoe, and, being bandaged about with cloth, the whole has the appearance of a *club-foot*. The toes and the part of the foot in the shoe have more or less cloth, or strips of cloth, wrapped around them. It is manifest that *no stockings can be worn by the ladies who sport such small feet as have been described.*

The operation of bandaging is necessarily very painful. The flesh or skin often breaks or cracks in consequence of binding the toes underneath. Unless proper care is taken, sores are formed on the foot which it is difficult to heal, because it is desirable that the parts should be constantly and tightly bandaged. If undue haste is endeavored to be made by bandaging more tightly than is proper, in order to have the foot quickly become small, the pain becomes proportionably greater. If the girl is twelve or fifteen years old before bandaging her feet is attempted, it is found very difficult to cause them to assume the required shape, and efforts to do so are accompanied with excessive pain. The bones have by this time become hardened, and almost as large as they ever would grow. Usually, however, in the case of girls of advanced age, the toes are compressed, while the rest of the foot retains its aquired shape to a very great extent. The end of the foot is thrust into the shoe, the heel is supported by a block, and the rest of the foot is bandaged in much the usual way.

Instances have been known of females with bandaged feet, when hired out as servants, leaving off the bandages, and discarding, of course, the small shoe, wearing a larger kind, much like those worn by the large footed class, at least as far as size is concerned. Such persons' feet are more or less deformed, and doubtless they began to wear bandages when considerably advanced in girlhood. There is a good deal of conterfeiting small feet practiced at this place. Stage actors, who are males, sometimes have their feet bandaged when they represent females.

In consequence of thus wearing shoes into which the toes are thrust, this class of females are apparently very tall. As has been explained, they walk and stand, to a great extent, on their tiptoes, and this fact makes them look taller than they would otherwise look. *The small-footed class cannot walk firmly.* Their gait is mincing and tottering, their steps being short and taken quickly. They are seldom seen to stride along. While they are often quite strong physically, they are generally unable to carry heavy loads, and to manage themselves with ease and adroitness while performing labor which requires moving from place to place. Coarse, heavy work in households, when the women have small feet, is usually performed by males, or by female servants who have large or natural feet.

Small feet are a mark, not of *wealth*, for the poorest families sometimes have their daughters' feet bandaged—it is rather an index of gentility. It is the fashionable form. Small feet, as they appear bandaged, are considered by most of of the Chinese "beautiful." The words "*good looking*" are very frequently heard, as indicative of the estimation in which they are held. It is but just to some Chinese to say that they denounce the custom, and view it as crippling the energies of the female sex, and as productive of a great deal of suffering, and as entirely useless. It does no good, but rather produces evil. In case of emergencies, as of fires and sickness, they whose feet are bandaged are almost helpless and useless. Those who admit such to be the real state of the case in regard to the small footed women, after all, feel obliged to conform, in regard to their own daughters, to the usages of Chinese society, if living in the city, and connected with literary families. As a general rule, families whose girls have small feet marry their sons into families of the same class.

In some parts of China all the females have bandaged feet, but it is not thus here (Fuhchau). There is a large proportion of the inhabitants of the country, also about six or seven tenths of the population of the suburbs of this city, according to the estimate of some, whose females have feet of the natural size. It is said that probably more than nine-tenths of the females who are brought up in the city have bandaged feet. It is thought that, were it not for the poverty of the people, all the females would in a generation or two have small feet. Necessity lays an interdict on many families, obliging them to rear their daughters with feet of the size and shape which nature gave them, so that they can labor in the fields and carry heavy burdens, thus earning a living, or at least contributing largely toward the maintenance of their families.

Many poor families prefer to struggle along for a precarious living, bringing up their daughters with small feet rather than allow them to grow as large as they would grow, and oblige them to carry burdens and do heavy work, in order to attain a more competent support. As has been said, small feet are not an index of wealth, but of gentility. Families whose daughters have small feet are enabled to marry them into more respectable and more literary families than though their feet were of the natural size. Concubines or inferior wives, hired servants and female slaves, generally have large feet. In the city and suburbs there is a strong tendency to change from the large-footed into the small-footed class. Few or none change from the latter into the former class of society, if living in the city.

In this part of China, field-women, those who labor in rice-fields, and engage in the ordinary occupations of the farm, have large feet. In some of the northern portions of the empire this class of females have bandaged feet. Those who bear burdens in the streets, or come from the country with loads of produce for sale, have large feet. Foreign visitors to this port from the other consular ports are usually immediately struck with the singular appearance of the large-footed women as they go about the streets with their bare feet, and with their pantaloons coming but little below their knees—in fact, often tucked up so as to come above their knees, as though they were afraid of soiling them. Not only is the appearance of the large-footed women very different from those of the small-footed class as regard their feet and the absence of clothing on the lower part of their limbs, but their head ornaments, and the color and the fashion of their garments, are very different, and attract universal attention, showing that there are two distinct classes of females here, and that the fashions which they follow differ widely from each other in more respects than the having of bandaged feet or the having of natural feet.

The laws of the empire are silent on the subject of bandaging the feet of female children. Bandaging the feet is simply a custom; but it is a custom of prodigious power and popularity, as may be easily inferred from what has been said above—a custom as imperious as *was* the custom of tight lacing by ladies in some countries of the West, and perhaps not more ridiculous or unnatural, and much less destructive of health and life. While foreign ladies wonder why Chinese ladies should compress the feet of their female children so unnaturally, and perhaps pity them for being the devotees of such a cruel and useless fashion, the latter wonder why the former should wear their dresses in the present expanded style, and are able to solve the problem of the means used to attain such a result only by suggesting that they *wear chicken-coops beneath their dresses*, from the fancied resemblance of crinoline skirts, of which they sometimes get a glimpse, to a common instrument for imprisoning fowls.

THE GREAT ROBBERY.

[We give below, from the New York *Herald*, the few facts which are known about the stupendous robbery in New York.]

"In yesterday's *Herald* we gave a brief account of the extensive robbery of one million and a half of dollars in Government securities, which were abstracted from the safe of Mr. Rufus L. Lord, the well known capitalist, real estate broker, and owner of the late Stock Exchange, whose office is located at No. 38 Exchange Place, in this city.

"The discovery of the robbery was made on last Thursday morning, when Mr. Lord, on making an unusual inspection of the interior of his money safe, missed the two tin boxes containing the stolen bonds. At first he was perfectly nonplussed, and sat down in silence to deliberate on what measures to adopt to secure the stolen papers and the arrest of the thief or thieves. He was not long in arriving at a conclusion—namely, an immediate visit to the police headquarters Mulberry street, and there inform the proper officer of his loss. The case was immediately placed in the hands of Capt. John Young, chief of the detective force, who summoned a number of his most expert men to 'work the case up.' Mr. Lord's statement was very brief, and he could give no information whereby the officers could get a clue, nor could he give the name of a single person to whom he attached suspicion. Capt. Young at once visited Mr. Lord's office. It is a very unpretentious one, on the street floor, and near the Merchant's Exchange. Its furniture is of a very plain character, and certainly bore no indications of its being a place where so large a sum as the amount stolen would be deposited. The safe from which the bonds were taken is the ordinary old wall or bank safe, secured by a very simply-constructed lock. Within this was another safe, in which valuable papers, such as stocks, bonds and railroad securities, were kept. The lock of the inner safe has been out of order for some time, so that it could not be locked. Capt. Young made an examination of the safe, and was not long in arriving at the conclusion that it was rather a poor place to keep valuable papers, as any unprofessional burglar or bank thief could open it without any extraordinary skill or effort. Mr. Lord is eighty years of age, and it is said that of late he has been apparently somewhat careless as to the safety of his personal property. The following is told by way of exemplifying his want of due care:—It is said that a short time since he took from his safe a very large quantity of government bonds, and then cut off the coupons, placing the latter in his pockets and going home, leaving the pile of bonds lying loosely upon the table in his office. When he had gone the porter noticed the bonds lying there, and not knowing exactly what to do in the case, finally decided to put them in his handkerchief and take them home to Mr. Lord. On handing the bundle to him, he (Mr. Lord) asked the porter where he got them, and on being told, remarked quietly that he did not think he had ever done anything like that before. It is also stated that on the days when the interest on the stolen bonds was due he would take the tin boxes containing them, and, taking a seat in his office, near the street window, there occupy the greater part of the day in cutting off the coupons. When the detectives requested Mr. Lord to furnish the numbers and description of the stolen property he could not give them, and it was only by the personal exertions of Capt. Young that the list embodied in this report was obtained. He did this by visiting the office of the sub-treasury and there examining the coupons on which Mr. Lord procured the interest on the last payment day. It is further stated that Mr. Lord has been repeatedly known to leave his safe unlocked when going home; that on a recent occasion he did so, when it was carefully locked by the janitor of the building, who returned him the key on the following morning; that on another occasion the janitor found the safe key in the wash hand basin. On the morning of the discovery of the robbery, however, this was not the case, as the outer door of the safe was locked, and the key was in Mr. Lord's pocket. The first theory of the detectives was that some person who was acquainted with Mr. Lord's habits of going in and out of his office during business hours got an impression of the safe-key, from which a duplicate was made; but subsequent events have dispelled this idea. Of the one million and a half dollars' worth of bonds stolen, over one million was the property of Mr. Lord, and the balance belonged to a friend of his, whose name has not transpired. It was in Mr. Lord's office not for business purposes, but merely for safe keeping. There is one fact connected with this robbery from which it may be inferred that the act was committed with haste. On a shelf in the safe, over the one in which the tin boxes were taken, were upwards of one million of dollars' worth of various American railroad securities. Mr. Lord cannot positively state when he last saw the bonds. There is, therefore, a possibility that it might have been a day or two before the robbery, and as the bonds were negotiable probably ere this, the thief has reaped the benefit of this stupendous piece of rascality.

"Letters containing the above intelligence were sent by the mail steamer which sailed on Saturday to all the principal bankers and dealers in American securities in Europe, and it is fair to presume the bonds will not be negotiated abroad. Capt. Young is relaxing no effort to discover the rogue or rogues; he has the case well in hand, and we hope ere many days to announce the fact of the recovery of the property and the arrest of the guilty party. A reward of two hundred thousand dollars—the largest reward ever offered in this country—will be given to any party or parties who may trace out and cause the arrest of the perpetrator of this stupendous robbery.

SONG OF THE CATTLE-HUNTERS.

While the morning light beams on the fern-matted streams,
  And the water-pools flash in its glow,
Down the ridges we fly, with a loud, ringing cry—
  Down the ridges and gullies we go!
And the cattle we hunt they are racing in front,
  With a roar like the thunder of waves;
As the beat and the beat of our swift horses' feet
  Start the echoes away from their caves!
    As the beat and the beat
    Of our swift horses' feet
  Start the echoes away from their caves!

Like a Wintery shore that the waters ride o'er,
  All the lowlands are filling with sound,
For swiftly we gain where the herds on the plain,
  Like a tempest, are tearing the ground!
And we'll follow them hard to the rails of the yard,
  O'er the gulches and mountain-tops grey,
Where the beat and the beat of our swift horses' feet
  Will die with the echoes away!
    Where the beat and the beat
    Of our swift horses' feet
  Will die with the echoes away!

FOUR MILLION SERMONS A YEAR.

From the Saturday Review.

Statistical statements have sometimes a wonderful power over our imaginations. They give distinct form to truths which are slumbering indistinctly in our consciousness. We are startled when we are told that the Ganges bears down hourly a mass of deposit equal to so many Egyptian pyramids, or that a penny put out to compound interest in the time of Adam would now be worth many hundred globes of solid gold, each equal in size to the earth. But there are cases where the mere enunciation of bare figures is more surprising than these ornate and sophisticated statements. We should shudder at the bare assertion, if we believed it to be well-founded, that twenty thousand barrels of measly pork were weekly consumed in London, or that ten men of otherwise sound understanding believed in Dr. Cumming's interpretations of the prophecies. We have been startled in the same way by the calculation that four million sermons are delivered annually in England. It reveals to us a vista of human misery of which we had previously a very faint conception. We had known vaguely that the account was something lamentable; but, like a spendthrift who has never ventured to look his debts in the face, we had no distinct conception of the awful truth. It must, indeed, be said that all such statistical formulas involve a certain unfairness. They depend upon a very simple artifice, which is not always detected. Thus a member of the Peace Society will tell us that England has spent a hundred millions upon warlike preparations within the last few years. He will proceed to reckon up the number of schools that might have been founded, and the amount of good that might have been done, if the same sum had been spent upon philanthropical projects. He relies upon our tacitly making the comparison between our income for one year and the enormous sum arrived at by taking the expenditure of several years. He omits at any rate to state explicitly that, after all, it is only a small fraction of the amount which has been received during the same period. And thus, when we hear of four million sermons, the mind reels under the thought; it forgets that even this vast stream of pulpit eloquence is a mere rivulet in comparison with the vast floods of rapid eloquence which are poured upon us from all quarters. A Commission lately decided that, vast as was the injury done by human jaws to the annual shoals of herrings, it was a trifle in comparison with the consumption of sea-fowl, porpoises, seals, and dogfish. And even the yearly mass of sermons is a molehill in comparison with the vast mountains of rubbish discharged from other quarters. The twaddle which is talked in private life, spouted in popular addresses, and printed in cheap publications, is perhaps sufficient to reduce even the yearly accumulation of sermons to insignificance. We cannot, indeed, have accurate statistics upon this matter, but we fear that the weekly half-hour during which we are preached upon is only a fraction of the time which most men devote to laying in stores of feeble platitude.

Whatever consolation may be derived from such reflections as these, it is undeniable that the fact is sufficiently lamentable. Four million sermons represent, under any circumstances, a considerable aggregate of discomfort. If we deduct a liberal percentage for sermons which really express a certain quantity of thought, and produce a certain effect upon the understandings of the audience—and one in a hundred is certainly a very ample allowance for such performances—there will still remain 3,960,000 aggregations of meaningless phrases. In outward form, they will be the expression of ideas; they will be more or less grammatical; and the language in which they are worded will approximate more or less loosely to English. But it is sad to think of the torture by which they have been produced, and to which they subject their hearers. A Sheffield knife-grinder has to put himself into very uncomfortable attitudes, but then he turns out something that will shave. Tupperian poetry is very poor stuff, but it can be manufactured easily by the ream. The unfortunate sermon-maker, however, cramps his intellect and racks his brains in order to produce something which is, if possible, a greater nuisance to the hearer than to the speaker. A little of the compassion which is lavished upon the workmen in unhealthy trades might very well be reserved for the sermon market. A wretched young man who has just escaped the torments of a pass-examination has an almost insoluble problem set before him. He has to squeeze out of a brain not naturally very full, fresh thoughts upon the oldest of all topics; he is bound to follow a track which thousands of men have made before him, without ever falling exactly into the same ruts. He has before his eyes at once the fear of being too original, and of dropping too servilely into the footsteps of a predecessor. To put together new arguments against a heresy, or new reasons for loving our neighbors, would tax the most powerful invention. It is not wonderful that ninety-nine curates out of a hundred groan hopelessly over their task, and laboriously fill up the interstices between appropriate texts with the set of conventional phrases which approach most nearly to conveying some sort of meaning. We can at any rate pity, if we cannot altogether excuse, those unambitious gentlemen who buy for a shilling a lithographed sermon which looks like manuscript, and spend half-a-crown for additional unction upon grand occasions. The only question is, whether the congregations of these unfortunate beings have not greater claims upon our compassion. It is torture to strain from reluctant brains fifty-two or a hundred and four sermons a year, but it is not much less torture to hear them. The recipient of this variety of eloquence generally oscillates between two mental conditions; he is either carrying on a gallant struggle against a tendency to sleep, or he is tormented by a fidgety desire to argue the other side of the question. Now, if we assume that an average of a hundred people listen, for an average of half an hour, to each of the 3,960,000 discourses throughout one year, it is easy to discover how many years of misery are passed in the aggregate by the congregations of the kingdom.

It would be, of course, unfair to say that these four million sermons are productive of nothing but discomfort to speakers and audience. Besides that liberal estimate of 40,000 decent or tolerable sermons which we have already excepted, there is doubtless a good deal of pleasure derived from the bad ones. There are schoolboys who like smoking cane by way of tobacco, and there are men who have no objection to Cape sherries and Chancellor of the Exchequer's claret. And probably a good deal of innocent satisfaction is derived from the inferior qualities of sermon. There is that part of the British public to which the sermon stands in the place of profane amusements, or whose highest intellectual flight is to the regions in which the curate gives the reins to his logical or rhetorical faculties. There is the numerous part of the congregation—especially of its female members—whose conscience is somehow pleasantly titillated by listening to a sermon; it is the crowning ornament of the service; and, without going through the form of listening to it, they would feel that sufficient attention had not been paid to the services of the day. Even if it were possible that a pause should intervene between the prayers and the sermon, in which those might depart who felt no desire for the latter form of edification, it would be long before many persons would summon up sufficient courage to desert the preacher. Apart from the implied disrespect to the performer, they would not feel that they had sufficiently complied with the established form without listening to his little string of conventional exhortation. The genuine British sentiment, excellent as it is, includes a somewhat superstitious reverence for established forms; and a service without a sermon—good, bad, or indifferent—would appear to most Englishmen like *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark, or a public dinner in which the Queen's health was not duly proposed.

The pleasures, however, of listening to sermons are undeniably of the placid and unexciting order. The absence of preaching would leave a void, but it would not deprive the public of any very animating source of excitement. And, without any deficiency on the part of modern preachers, it is inevitable that this should be the case. There are some causes of a permanent nature, and others more accidental and transitory, which tend to lower the relative value of sermons. That state of feeling can hardly be again brought about in which, as Lord Macaulay says, a preacher like Burnet could see the sands of the hour-glass run out, and then be encouraged by the loud hums of his audience to turn it over again. In the first place, the same change has necessarily occurred, with regard to preaching, which has affected the value of professors' lectures. No crowds will hurry, unless under very exceptional conditions, to hear a lecturer hold forth upon history or philosophy, for the simple reason that they can buy his effusions, and read them comfortably in their own rooms. A man of established reputation, like Dickens and Thackeray, may attract crowds to hear him out of pure curiosity, when the object is not really to profit by the lecture, but to see the lecturer. Or a skilled experimenter, like Faraday or Tyndall, may collect people to hear explosions, or see prismatic colors, or smell extraordinary odors. But the professor's chair—and, for the same reason, the preacher's pulpit—can never be what it was in the times when there was no effective rival in the shape of cheap books. At the same time, the preacher has certain advantages which, even at the present day, might occasionally enable him to support the competition successfully. The great charm of preaching is the enunciation of some new thought, or at least of some new application of old thought. A new creed makes proselytes, not merely by the slow infiltration of argument, but by the contagion of some living believer. Men catch doctrines as they catch diseases, by the actual presence of some one already infected by them. And it follows that a reformer whose object is to break down the established methods of thought has a great advantage over the conservative who wishes to maintain them. An agitator who has some new theory which is to put the whole world to rights finds just what he wants in the presence of a listening crowd. By their mere contact in the same room, they stimulate each other to the state of excitement which is favorable to new impressions. A man who has a new political or theological theory to produce will be more able than in former times to make it known by writing, but he will never be able to dispense with the advantage of indoctrinating masses of people by *vivâ voce* addresses. Every new agitation finds some kind of public meeting an essential part of its machinery. Hence, an era of good sermons will generally be an era of reform. Their existence will prove that some new thoughts are gradually forcing their way into the minds of the nation. At the time of the Reformation, powerful preaching was necessarily of more importance than it is now; not merely because preachers had a greater monopoly of the means of stirring up general interest, but because the most religious men of the time were in an aggressive, and therefore an eloquent, frame of mind. But, at the present day, none of these favorable conditions are present. Preachers are generally defending theological principles against attacks from without; they have the disadvatage of proving over again doctrines whose proofs have been advanced hundreds of times before. Even in the case of undeniable truths, it would be more easy to wax eloquent in proving that the circle can be squared than in demonstrating that it cannot; because one statement would seem to call up new views of science, and the other would at best revive old ones worn almost threadbare. And thus, when the assailants of orthodoxy do not get into the pulpit, there is little chance of growing eloquent in re-asserting ancient doctrines against an absent enemy. In consequence of which, an overwhelming proportion of the four million annual essays are, not to speak irreverently, deadly dull.

*LYCANTHROPY.**

From the Reader.

The Were-wolf has supplied us with one of the most important of our early English romances, and if only for that reason, we should welcome a complete discussion of the subject treated by William of Palerme, turned into fine alliterative verse by some unknown Englishman of the fourteenth century, and brought before us of the nineteenth by the diligence and skill of Sir Frederic Madden. But the superstition of the Man-wolf has wider claims on our attention than this; North and South, East and West, the dreadful beast has been feared; even now is believed in many lands; nay, has been seen in France, "as big as a calf, his tongue hanging out, and his eyes glaring like marsh-fires; a fiend, a wolf-fiend, a man-wolf-fiend," says M. le Maire; "who is to face him?" "I," said the author. Ah, "*il est Anglais*;" that explains all.

The interest in following the investigations of any inquirer into the aberrational myths of early ages is painfully different from that of treading in the track of the comparative mythologist as he traces the origin of the beautiful nature-begotten fancies and legends of Greece and Rome. Down to the chamber of horrors we are taken, instead of up to the dawn of the sun; but still we find that at the basis of the terrible legend, as well as the foundation of the beautiful one, there is a substructure of fact; and that as in the latter so in the former, the formation of the legend is helped by a metaphorical use, or double meaning, of a word. We think there can be little doubt that Mr. Gould is right in holding as an axiom the statement "that no superstition of general acceptance is destitute of a foundation of truth," if by truth we understood fact or reasonably possible occurrence; and we are content to acquiesce in his explanation of the origin of the belief in were-wolves:

> "That among the Scandinavian (and other) nations there existed a form of madness or possession, under the influence of which men acted as though they were changed into wild and savage brutes, howling, foaming at the mouth, ravening for blood and slaughter, ready to commit any atrocity, and as irresponsible for their actions as the wolves and bears, in whose skins they often equipped themselves."

We have inserted the words "and other" into our quotation from Mr. Gould, only to guard him and ourselves against the notion that the Eastern belief, and that of other nations, were derived from the Scandinavian; a notion for which there is neither evidence nor need, for whatsoever superstitions the human mind produces in one land, it may be expected to bring forth in others similarly circumstanced. The impulse to destroy, and eat what is destroyed, is natural to the animal instincts of man, and one cannot wonder that it gratifies itself occasionally on those of the same kind as the human creature possessed by it.

The stories collected by Mr. Gould are very curious, and he has gleaned them from a wide field of reading; but when he comes to history and criminal trials, we should much like to have a little less of the story-telling element, and more of the words of the original documents, if any are left; for the following description of the execution-day (26th Oct., 1440) of the Sire de Retz, the original Bluebeard, leads us to doubt whether the other circumstances of the culprit's crimes and trial may not have proceeded from the same vivid modern imagination;

> "It was a glorious breezy day, not a cloud was to be seen in the blue heavens; the Loire rolled silently towards the sea its mighty volumes of turbid water, seeming bright and blue as it reflected the brilliancy and color of the sky. [Is this right, Mr. Ruskin?] The poplars shivered and whitened in the fresh air with a pleasant rustic, and the willows flickered and wavered above the stream."

Why should such a fancy hesitate at the charge:

> "Forasmuch as the said Sire de Retz has seized and caused to be seized *several* little children, not only ten or twenty, but thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, *one hundred, two hundred,* AND MORE, and has murdered and slain them inhumanly, and then burned their bodies to convert them to ashes."

Nevertheless, we believe in a substratum of fact about the Sire de Retz, and we commend to all students of such matters, as well as to delighters in rather horrible stories, Mr. Gould's Were-wolf volume, He says that he proposes to make this the first of a series on Popular Superstitions, to be followed by treatises on Marine Monsters—as Mermaids and Sea-serpents—Vampires, the Wild Huntsman, the Wandering Jew, etc., and if he treats his non-repulsive subjects as attractively as he has treated his man-eaters and child-renders, there is assuredly a rare treat in store for those of us who live to read his books.

The Book of Were-Wolves: being an Account of a Terrible Superstition. By Sabine Baring Gould, M.A. (Smith, Elder & Co.)

A BREEZE IN ENGLAND.

HOW MR. BANCROFT'S ORATION WAS RECEIVED.

As was to have been expected, Mr. Bancroft's oration was not read in England with any great degree of satisfaction. The first shot in reply comes from the London *Times*, in a "leader" evidently written under the inspiration of a bitter letter from its correspondent in the United States, who, after describing the occasion and the scene at the delivery of the oration, says:

"No doubt Mr. Brancroft, or any other man of his stamp, has a perfect right to revile England, but Congress ought to have the decency not to bring the representative of England to hear this abuse, under a false pretence. It need not to be said that the diplomatic body would not have gone to listen to an old man delivering a dreary *réchauffé* of his ponderous history in a quavering voice, if they had not been pressed to do so by official invitations issued in the name of the Legislature. To entrap them into a hall of Congress, in the presence of the highest personages in the country, and then offer them every indignity, was an act of which no decent American has any cause to be proud. I have not heard since I have been in this country, even at a Fourth of July oration or 'clam bake' orgies, an attack upon England and English statesmen so coarse, brutal and indecorous as that of Mr. Brancroft, the 'historian,' this afternoon. It is bad enough as it reads toned down in print; but Mr. Bancroft introduced passages and expressions as he went on which made it still worse than it reads. What the English Minister thought of his afternoon's entertainment I cannot say; but more than one of the other foreign Ministers have expressed the greatest indignation at having been deluded into attending so disgraceful an exhibition."

The article of the *Times* is as follows:

"The other day it was proposed to one of our old universities that a series of professional or literary gentlemen from America should be invited by the endowment of a special lectureship to visit England and address orations to the undergraduates on American subjects. The majority of the Senate, however, considered, wisely, as we think, that there may be found among the members of the university itself men capable of acquiring a sufficient knowledge of foreign countries to give the students any instruction they may need, and the offer was consequently declined. If any proof of the wisdom of this decision were necessary, it might be found in an incident related in our American correspondence of to-day. Such an oration has just been delivered by exactly such a man as a New England university would be likely to select; and, so far from its effect having been to produce amity and good will between the two countries, it is plain that the speaker took the opportunity to utter, and a part of the audience to applaud, everything that could offend the pride and rouse the indignation of England.

"It appears that the 12th of February being the anniversary of the late President Lincoln's birth, it occurred to some of the party which he represented that it would be fitting to deliver a formal eulogy upon him in the presence of the American Executive and Legislature, the diplomatic body, and, in short, the whole political world of Washington. The duty was undertaken by Mr. George Bancroft. This gentleman, as most of our readers know, was some years since Minister to England; he is advanced in years; he has had the best opportunities of forming sound opinions, and chastening the judgments of ignorant patriotism. He has written history, and obtained a respectable literary reputation. He may thus be fairly presumed to represent the more moderate school of political oratory. The subject also was a solemn one, being the life and death of one who had rendered great services to the country in its highest office, and had been cut off by the hand of an assassin less than a year ago. Both the man and the theme might lead a foreign auditor to suppose that he was about to listen to a well-weighed and temperate address. There was much preparation for the ceremony, which took the character of a national demonstration. The oration was delivered in the House of Representatives; the President, his Cabinet, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, attended, and the foreign Ministers were also present by invitation to do honor to the late President of the United States. The British Legation, we may presume, attended in good faith, and with no idea that England was to be attacked in a regular Fourth of July oration. But before the hour of delivery came it was evident that England, and in some degree France, were to receive the castigation due to their many sins, and to be regaled through their representatives with a full display af their littleness and the surpassing excellence of the great Republic. The oration of the day had been printed, and before the speaker came to the most trenchant parts of his philippic they had been pointed out to those who were especially interested in them. The French Minister happened to stay away; but his secretaries were present, and did not care to conceal their disgust. Sir Frederic Bruce and the British diplomatic staff sat it out with the usual impassiveness of their race. The oration was worthy of Elijah Pogram. The British Lion might fairly be expected to "put his tail between his legs and howl with anguish." The staple of the harangue was abuse of England and its institutions. What the tenure of land in Great Britain or the occupation of Asiatic forts by this country have to do with President Lincoln's birthday, it is not easy to understand; nor does there seem to be much room for comparison between Lord Palmerston, who for upwards of 50 years was concerned in all the chief affairs of Europe and America, and President Lincoln, who happened to hold office during four years in a domestic war. But these matters were dragged in that the speaker might have an opportunity to rail at and vilify the country whose language he was speaking and whose authors he had in former times done his best to imitate. The taste which could invite an English Minister and his staff in order to inflict upon them a course invective needs no remark. We can well understand that there were many among the Americans themselves who were shocked at the indecency, but we can as little doubt what we are told—that the bitterest passages in Mr. Bancroft's address were the most warmly greeted by that polite assemblage.

"Mr. Bancroft probably knows enough of England to be aware that these harangues have little effect on this side of the ocean. We shall even proceed to the discussion of the coming Reform bill unaffected by his declamation that it is to 'bury the dead,' to 'remove the worn-out government of a class,' and 'to confide rightful power to the people.' It is not the effect here, but the effect in America, that is of importance. Can this mischievous old man believe that any purpose can be served by slandering two such countries as England and France in the presence of their representatives? The Americans know their own rights, and are sufficiently watchful in maintaining them; they do not require to be continually hounded on against us, nor will it tend to the enlightened conduct of public affairs if they are made to believe that England is a country where the mass of the people are powerless and oppressed. It is to such declamations as these that we owe the arrival of a few score of Fenian adventurers in Ireland, fully believing that they and their New York friends can overthrow the rule of the strongest, most resolute, and most wealthy government in the world. The Irish emigrants are so accustomed to hear the old country is effete, that they really fancy they have nothing to do but to return home, get up a popular rising, and take possession of the land after the extirpation of the aristocrats. Such misrepresentations might be properly left to a lower class of politicians; they do not deserve to be countenanced by one who claims the high titles of historian and diplomatist."

The Archbishop of Canterbury has given an illustration of the very small value which attaches, as the Dean of Westminster observes, to Episcopal opinions on the Pentateuch, by writing to Dr. Colenso that he believes him to be "duly and canonically deposed from his spiritual office, according to the common law of the Church of Christ, as set forth in the concluding paragraph of the 26th Article of the Church of England." Now, the words referred to are, "Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences, and finally being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed." The whole Article, the last clause included, expressly refers to "wicked" ministers, and bears on discipline, not on doctrine. Does the Archbishop think Dr. Colenso a wicked man for disbelieving that Moses wrote the Pentateuch? Does he think him *so* wicked, for instance, as the Bishop of Capetown, who asked the Propagation Society to strengthen his hands against the Bishop of Natal, by paying only those clergymen whose demands were endorsed by him, and then, when taxed with this shabby proceeding, denied that it had any but a financial purpose?—*Spectator*

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

CONSTITUTION WATER

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

THE ONLY REMEDY KNOWN FOR

DIABETES,

Stone in the bladder, Calculus, Gravel, Brick Dust Deposit, and Mucous or Milky Discharges after urinating, Irritation of the Neck of the Bladder, Inflammation of the Kidneys, Catarrh of the Bladder, Strangury and Burning, or Painful Urinating.

For these diseases it is truly a sovereign remedy, and too much cannot be said in its praise. A single dose has been known to relieve the most urgent symptoms.

Are you troubled with that distressing pain in the small of the back and through the hips? A teaspoonful a day of the Constitution Water will relieve you like magic.

PHYSICIANS

have long since given up the use of buchu, cubebs and juniper in the treatment of these diseases, and only use them for the want of a better remedy.

CONSTITUTION WATER

has proved itself equal to the task that has devolved upon it.

DIURETICS

irritate and drench the kidneys, and by constant use soon lead to chronic degeneration and confirmed disease.

We present the Constitution Water to the public with the conviction that it has no equal in relieving the class of diseases for which it has been found so eminently successful for curing; and we trust that we shall be rewarded for our efforts in placing so valuable a remedy in a form to meet the requirements of patient and physician.

Dysmenorrhœa and Menorrhagia will be speedily cured by the Constitution Water.

That disease known as Falling of the Womb, which is the result of a relaxation of the ligaments of that organ, and is known by a sense of heaviness and dragging pains in the back and sides and at times accompanied by sharp, lancinating or shooting pains through the parts, will, in all cases, be removed by the medicine.

FOR SALE BY ALL DRUGGISTS. PRICE, $1.

WM. H. GREGG & CO.,

Proprietors.

MORGAN & ALLEN, General Agents, No. 46 Cliff street, New York.